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PLUTARCH.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES,

TRANSLATED FROM

THE ORIGINAL GREEK;

WITH

NOTES CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL,

AND A

NEW LIFE OF PLUTARCH.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

BY JOHN LANGHORNE, D. D.
AND
WILLIAM LANGHORNE, M. A.

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PREFACE.

IF the merit of a Work may be estimated from the universality of its reception, Plutarch's Lives have a claim to the first honours of Literature. No book has been more generally sought after, or read with greater avidity. It was one of the first that were brought out of the retreats of the learned, and translated into the modern languages. Amiot, Abbe of Bellozane, published a French translation of it in the reign of Henry the Second; and from that work it was translated into English, in the time of Queen Elizabeth.

It is said by those who are not willing to allow Shakespear much learning, that he availed himself of the last-mentioned translation; but they seem to forget that, in order to support their arguments of this kind, it is necessary for them to prove that Plato too was translated into English at the same time; for the celebrated soliloquy, "To be, or not "to be," is taken, almost verbatim, from that philosopher; yet we have never found that Plato was translated in those times.

Amiot was a man of great industry and considerable learning. He sought diligently in the libraries of Rome and Venice for those Lives of Plutarch which are lost; and though his search was unsuccessful, it had this good effect, that, by meeting with a variety of manuscripts, and comparing them with the printed copies, he was enabled in many places to rec-

tify the text. This was a very essential circumstance; for a few ancient writers have suffered more than Plutarch from the carelessness of printers and transcribers; and, with all his merit, it was his fate, for a long time, to find no able restorer. The Schoolmen despised his Greek, because it had not the purity of Xenophon, nor the Attic terseness of Aristophanes; and, on that account, very unreasonably bestowed their labours on those that wanted them less. Amoit's Translation was published in the year 1558; but no reputable edition of the Greek text of Plutarch appeared till that of Paris in 1624. The above-mentioned translation, however, though drawn from an imperfect text, passed through many editions, and was still read, till Dacier, under better auspices, and in better times, attempted a new one; which he executed with great elegance, and tolerable accuracy. The text he followed was not so correct as might have been wished; for the London edition of Plutarch was not then published. However the French language being at that time in great perfection, and the fashionable language of almost every court in Europe, Dacier's translation came not only into the libraries, but into the hands of men. Plutarch was universally read, and no book in those times had a more extensive sale, or went through a greater number of impressions. The translator had, indeed, acquitted himself in one respect with great happiness. His book was not found to be French Greek. He had carefully followed that rule, which no translator ought ever to loose sight of, the great rule of humouring the genius, and maintaining the structure of his own language. For this purpose he frequently broke the long and embarrassed periods of the Greek; and by dividing and shortening them in his translation, he gave them greater perspicuity and a more easy movement. Yet still he was faithful to his original; and where he did not mistake him, which indeed he seldom did, conveyed his ideas with clear-

ness, though not without verbosity. His translation had another distinguished advantage. He enriched it with a variety of explanatory notes. There are so many readers who have no competent acquaintance with the customs of antiquity, the laws of the ancient states, the ceremonies of their religion, and the remoter and minuter parts of their history and genealogy, that to have an account of these matters ever before the eye, and to travel with a guide who is ready to describe to us every object we are unacquainted with, is a privilege equally convenient and agreeable. But here the annotator ought to have stopped. Satisfied with removing the difficulties usually arising in the circumstances above-mentioned, he should not have swelled his pages with idle declamations on trite morals and obvious sentiments. Amiot's margins, indeed, are every were crowded with such. In those times they followed the method of the old Divines, which was, to make practical improvements of every matter; but it is somewhat strange that Dacier, who wrote in a more enlightened age, should fall into that beaten track of insipid moralizing, and be at pains to say what every one must know. Perhaps as the commentator of Plutarch, he considered himself as a kind of travelling companion to the reader; and, agreeably to the manners of his country he meant to shew his politeness by never holding his peace. The apology he makes for deducing and detailing these flat precepts, is the view of instructing younger minds. He had not philosophy enough to consider, that to anticipate the conclusions of such minds, in their pursuit of history and characters, is to prevent their proper effect. When examples are placed before them, they will not fail to make right inferences; but if those are made for them the dictatic air of information destroys their influence.

After the old English translation of Plutarch, which was professedly taken from Amiot's French, no other appeared till the time of Dryden. That

great man, who is never to be mentioned without pity and admiration, was prevailed upon, by his necessities, to head a company of translators; and to lend the sanction of his glorious name to a translation of Plutarch, written, as he himself acknowledges, by almost as many hands as there were lives. That this motley work was full of errors, inequalities, and inconsistencies, is not in the least to be wondered at. Of such a variety of translators, it would have been very singular if some had not failed in learning, and some in language. The truth is, that the greatest part of them were deficient in both. Indeed, their task was not easy. To translate Plutarch under any circumstances would require no ordinary skill in the language and antiquities of Greece: But to attempt it whilst the text was in a depraved state; unsettled and unrectified; abounding with errors, misnomers, and transpositions; this required much greater abilities than fell to the lot of that body of translators in general. It appears, however, from the execution of their undertaking, that they gave themselves no great concern about the difficulties that attended it. Some few blundered at the Greek; some drew from the Scholist's Latin; and others, more humble, trode scrupulously in the paces of Amiot. Thus copying the idioms of different languages, they proceeded like the workmen of Babel, and fell into a confusion of tongues, while they attempted to speak the same. But the diversities of style were not the greatest fault of this strange translation. It was full of the grossest errors. Ignorance on the one hand, and hastiness or negligence on the other, had filled it with absurdities in every life, and inaccuracies in almost every page. The language, in general, was insupportably tame, tedious, and embarrassed. The periods had no harmony; the phraseology had no elegance, no spirit, or precision.

Yet this is the last translation of Plutarch's Lives that has appeared in the English language, and the only one that is now read.

It must be owned, that when Dacier's translations came abroad, the proprietor of Dryden's copy endeavoured to repair it. But how was this done? Not by the application of learned men, who might have rectified the errors by consulting the original, but by a mean resource to the labours of Dacier. Where the French translator had differed from the English, the opinions of the latter were religiously given up; and sometimes a period, and sometimes a page, were translated anew from Dacier; while, in due compliment to him, the idium of his language, and every *tour d'expression* were most scrupulously preserved. Nay, the editors of the edition, which was published in 1727, did more. They not only paid Dacier the compliment of mixing his French with their English, but whilst they borrowed his notes, they adopted even the most frivolous and superfluous comments that escaped his pen.

Thus the English Plutarch's Lives, at first so heterogeneous and absurd, received but little benefit from this whimsical reparation. Dacier's best notes were, indeed, of some value; but the patch-work alterations the editors had drawn from his translation, made their book appear still more like Otway's Old Woman, whose gown of many colours spoke

————variety of wretchedness.

This translation continued in the same form upwards of thirty years. But in the year 1758 the proprietor engaged a gentleman of abilities, very different from those who had formerly been employed, to give it a second purgation. He succeeded as well as it was possible for any man of the best judgment and learning to succeed, in an attempt of that nature. That is to say, he rectified a multitude of errors, and in many places endeavoured to mend the miserable language. Two of the lives he translated anew; and this he executed in such a manner, that, had he done the whole, the present translators would never have thought of the undertaking. But two Lives out of fifty made a very small part of this

great work; and though he rectified many errors in the old translation, yet, where almost every thing was error, it was no wonder if many escaped him. This was, indeed, the case. In the course of our Notes we had remarked a great number; but, apprehensive that such a continual attention to the faults of a former translation might appear invidious, we expunged the greatest parts of the remarks, and suffered such only to remain as might testify the propriety of our present undertaking. Besides, though the ingenious reviser of the edition of 1758 might repair the language where it was most palpably deficient, it was impossible for him to alter the cast and complexion of the whole. It would still retain its inequalities, its tameness, and heavy march; its mixture of idioms, and the irksome train of far-connected periods. These it still retains; and, after all the operations it has gone through, remains

Like some patch'd dog-hole, eked with ends of wall?

In this view of things, the necessity of a new translation is obvious; and the hazard does not appear to be great. With such competitors for the public favour, the contest has neither glory nor danger attending it. But the labour and attention necessary, as well to secure as to obtain that favour, neither are, nor ought to be less: And with whatever success the present translators may be thought to have executed their undertaking, they will always at least have the merit of a diligent desire to discharge this public duty faithfully.

Where the text of Plutarch appeared to them erroneous, they have spared no pains, and neglected no means in their power, to rectify it.

Sensible that the great art of a translator is to prevent the peculiarities of his author's laguage from stealing into his own, they have been particularly attentive to this point, and have generally endeavoured to keep their English unmixed with Greek.

At the same time it must be observed, that there is frequently a great similarity in the structure of the two languages; yet that resemblance in some instances, makes it the more necessary to guard against it on the whole. This care is of the greatest consequence, because Plutarch's Lives generally pass through the hands of young people, who ought to read their own language in its native purity, unmixed and untainted with the idioms of different tongues. For their sakes too, as well as for the sake of readers of a different class, we have omitted some passages in the text, and have only signified the omission by asterisms. Some, perhaps, may censurs us for taking too great a liberty with our Author, in this circumstance: However, we must beg leave in that instance to abide by our own opinion; and sure we are, that we should have censured no translator for the same. Could every thing of that kind have been omitted, we should have been still less dissatisfied; but sometimes the chain of the narrative would not admit of it, and the disagreeable parts were to be got over with as much decency as possible.

In the description of battles, camps, and sieges, it is more than probable that we may sometimes be mistaken in the military terms. We have endeavoured, however, to be as accurate in this respect as possible, and to acquaint ourselves with this kind of knowledge as well as our situations would permit; but we will not promise the reader that we have always succeeded. Where something seemed to have fallen out of the text, or where the ellipsis was too violent for the forms of our language, we have not scrupled to maintain the tenor of the narrative, or the chain of reason, by such little insertions as appeard to be necessary for the purpose. These short insertions we at first put between hooks; but as that deformed the page, without answering any material purpose, we soon rejected it.

Such are the liberties we have taken with Plutarch; and the learned, we flatter ourselves, will not think

them too great. Yet there is one more, which, if we could have presumed upon it, would have made his book infinitely more uniform and agreeable. We often wished to throw out of the text into the notes those tedious and digressive comments that spoil the beauty and order of his narrative, mortify the expectation, frequently, when it is most essentially interested, and destroy the natural influence of his story, by turning the attention into a different channel. What, for instance, can be more irksom eand impertinent, than a long dissertation on a point of natural philosophy starting up at the very crisis of some important action? Every reader of Plutarch must have felt the pain of these unseasonable digressions; but we could not upon our own pleasure or authority, remove them.

In the notes we have prosecuted these several intentions. We have endeavoured to bring the English reader acquainted with the Greek and Roman Antiquities; where Plutarch had omitted any thing remarkable in the lives, to supply it from other authors, and to make his book in some measure a general history of the periods under his pen. In the Notes too we have assigned reasons for it, where we have differed from the former translators.

This part of our work is neither wholly borrowed, nor altogether original. Where Dacier or other annotators offered us any thing to the purpose, we have not scrupled to make use of it; and, to avoid the endless trouble of citations, we make this acknowledgement once for all. The number of original notes the learned reader will find to be very considerable: But there are not so many notes of any kind in the latter part of the work; because the manners and customs, the religious ceremonies, laws, state-offices, and forms of government, among the ancients, being explained in the first lives, much did not remain for the business of information.

Four of Plutarch's parallels are supposed to be lost: those of Themistocles and Camillus; Pyrrhus

and Marius; Phocion and Cato; Alexander and Cæsar. These Dacier supplies by others of his own composition; but so different from those of Plutarch, that they have little right to be incorporated with his works.

The necessary Chronological Tables, together with tables of money, weights, and measures, and a copious Index, have been provided for this translation: of which we may truly say, that it wants no other advantages than such as the translators had not power to give.

THE

LIFE OF PLUTARCH.

AS, in the progress of life, we first pass through scenes of innocence, peace, and fancy, and afterwards encounter the vices and disorders of society ; so we shall here amuse ourselves awhile in the peaceful solitude of the philosopher, before we proceed to those more animated, but less pleasing objects he describes.

Nor will the view of a philosopher's life be less instructive than his labours. If the latter teach us how great vices, accompanied with great abilities, may tend to the ruin of a state ;....if they inform us how ambition attended with magnanimity, how avarice directed by political sagacity, how envy and revenge armed with personal valour and popular support, will destroy the most sacred establishments, and break through every barrier of human repose and safety ; the former will convince us that equanimity is more desirable than the highest privileges of mind, and that the most distinguished situations in life, are less to be envied than those quiet allotments, where science is the support of virtue.

Pindar and Epaminondas had, long before Plutarch's time, redeemed, in some measure, the credit of Bœotia, and rescued the inhabitants of that country from the proverbial imputation of stupidity. When Plutarch appeared, he confirmed the reputation it had recovered. He shewed that genius is not the growth of any particular soil ; and, that its cultivation requires no peculiar qualities of climate.

Chæronea, a town in Bœotia, between Phocis and Attica, had the honour to give him birth. This place was remarkable for nothing but the tameness and servility of its inhabitants, whom Anthony's soldiers made beasts of burthen, and obliged to carry their corn upon their shoul-

ders to the coast. As it lay between two seas, and was partly shut up by mountains, the air, of course, was heavy, and truly Bœotian. But situations as little favoured by nature as Chæronea, have given birth to the greatest men; of which the celebrated Locke and many other are instances.

Plutarch himself acknowledges the stupidity of the Bœotians in general; but he imputes it rather to their diet than their air; for, in his Treatise on Animal Food, he intimates, that a gross indulgence in that article, which was usual with his countrymen, contributes greatly to obscure the intellectual faculties.

It is not easy to ascertain in what year he was born. Ruauld places it about the middle of the reign of Claudius; others, towards the end of it. The following circumstance is the only foundation they have for their conjectures.

Plutarch says, that he studied philosophy under Ammonius, at Delphi, when Nero made his progress into Greece. This, we know, was in the twefth year of that Emperor's reign, in the consulship of Paulinus Suetonius and Pontius Telesinus, the second year of the Olympiad 211, and the sixty-sixth of the christian æra. Dacier observes, that Plutarch must have been seventeen or eighteen at least, when he was engaged in the abstruse studies of philosophy; and he, therefore, fixes his birth about five or six years before the death of Claudius. This, however, is bare suspicion; and that, in our opinion, not of the most probable kind. The youth of Greece studied under the philosophers very early; for their works, with those of the poets and rhetoricians, formed their chief course of discipline.

But to determine whether he was born under the reign of Claudius, or in the early part of Nero's reign (which we the rather believe, as he says himself, that he was very young when Nero entered Greece;) to make it clearly understood, whether he studied at Delphi at ten, or at eighteen years of age, is of much less consequence, than it is to know by what means, and under what auspices, he acquired that humane and rational philosophy which is distinguished in his works.

Ammonius was his preceptor; but of him we know little more than what his scholar has accidentally let fall

concerning him. He mentions a singular instance of his manner of correcting his pupils. "Our master," says he, "having one day observed that we had indulged ourselves "too luxuriously at dinner, at his afternoon lecture, or- "dered his freedman to give his own son the discipline of "the whip, in our presence; signifying, at the same "time, that he suffered this punishment, because he could "not eat his victuals without sauce. The philosopher "all the while had his eye upon us, and we knew well for "whom this example of punishment was intended." This circumstance shews, at least, that Ammonius was not of the school of Epicurus. The severity of his discipline, indeed, seems rather of the stoic cast; but it is most probable, that he belonged to the academicians; for their schools, at that time, had the greatest reputation in Greece.

It was a happy circumstance in the discipline of those schools, that the parent only had the power of corporal punishment: the rod and the ferula were snatched from the hand of the petty tyrant: his office alone was to inform the mind: he had no authority to dastardize the spirit: he had no power to extinguish the generous flame of freedom, or to break down the noble independency of soul, by the slavish, debasing, and degrading application of the rod. This mode of punishment in our public schools is one of the worst remains of barbarism that prevails among us. Sensible minds, however volatile and inattentive in early years, may be drawn to their duty by many means, which shame, and fears of a more liberal nature than those of corporal punishment, will supply. Where there is but little sensibility, the effect which that mode of punishment produces is not more happy. It destroys that little, though it should be the first care and labour of the preceptor to increase it. To beat the body, is to debase the mind. Nothing so soon, or so totally abolishes the sense of shame; and yet that sense is at once the best preservative of virtue, and the greatest incentive to every species of excellence.

Another principal advantage, which the ancient mode of the Greek education gave its pupils, was their early access to every branch of philosophical learning. They did not, like us, employ their youth in the acquisition of words: they were engaged in pursuits of a higher nature:

in acquiring the knowledge of things. They did not, like us, spend seven or ten years of scholastic labour, in making a general acquaintance with two dead languages. Those years were employed in the study of nature, and in gaining the elements of philosophical knowledge from her original œconomy and laws. Hence all that Dacier has observed concerning the probability of Plutarch's being seventeen or eighteen years of age when he studied under Ammonius, is without the least weight.

The way to mathematical and philosophical knowledge was, indeed, much more easy among the ancient Greeks than it can ever be with us. Those, and every other science, are bound up in terms, which we can never understand precisely, till we become acquainted with the languages from which they are derived. Plutarch, when he learnt the Roman language, which was not till he was somewhat advanced in life, observed, that he got the knowledge of words from his knowledge of things. But we lie under the necessity of reversing his method: and before we can arrive at the knowledge of things, we must first labour to obtain the knowledge of words.

However, though the Greeks had access to science without the acquisition of other languages, they were, nevertheless, sufficiently attentive to the cultivation of their own. Philology, after the mathematics and philosophy, was one of their principal studies; and they applied themselves considerably to critical investigation.

A proof of this we find in that Dissertation which Plutarch hath given us on the word ει, engraved on the temple of Apollo at Delphi. In this tract he introduces the scholastic disputes, wherein he makes a principal figure. After giving us the various significations which others assigned to this word, he adds his own idea of it; and that is of some consequence to us, because it shews us that he was not a polytheist. "ει, says he, *Thou art*; as if it "were εἷ ἓν, *Thou art one*. I mean not in the aggregate "sense, as we say, one army, or one body of men com-"posed of many individuals; but that which exists dis-"tinctly must necessarily be one; and the very idea of "being implies individuality. One is that which is a "simple being, free from mixture and composition. To "be one, therefore, in this sense, is consistent only with "a nature entire in its first principle, and incapable of "alteration or decay."

So far we are perfectly satisfied with Plutarch's creed, but not with his criticism. To suppose that the word ει should signify the existence of one God only, is to hazard too much upon conjecture ; and the whole tenor of the Heathen theology makes against it.

Nor can we be better pleased with the other interpretations of this celebrated word. We can never suppose, that it barely signified *if ;* intimating thereby, that the business of those who visited the temple was inquiry, and that they came to ask the Deity, *if* such events should come to pass. This construction is too much forced ; and it would do as well, or even better, were the ει interpreted, *if* you make large presents to the God, *if* you pay the priest.

Were not this inscription an object of attention among the learned, we should not, at this distant period of time, have thought it worth mentioning, otherwise than as it gives us an idea of one branch of Plutarch's education. But, as a single word, inscribed on the temple of Apollo at Delphi, cannot but be matter of curiosity with those who carry their enquiries into remote antiquity, we shall not scruple to add one more to the other conjectures concerning it.

We will suppose then, that the word ει was here used, in the Ionic dialect, for εἰθε, *I wish.* This perfectly expressed the state of mind of all that entered the temple on business of consultation ; and it might be no less emphatical in the Greek than Virgil's *Quanquam O !* was in the Latin. If we carry this conjecture farther, and think it probable, that this word might, as the initial word of a celebrated line in the third book of the Odyssey, stand there to signify the whole line, we shall reach a degree of probability almost bordering on certainty. The verse we allude to is this :

Ει γαρ ἐμοι ϝοσσηνδε θεοι δυναμιν παρα θειεν!

" O that the Gods would empower me to obtain my " wishes !" What prayer more proper on entering the temples of the Gods, particularly with the view of consulting them on the events of life.

If it should be thought, that the initial word is insufficient to represent a whole verse, we have to answer, that it was agreeable to the custom of the ancients. They

not only conveyed the sense of particular verses by their initial words, but frequently of large passages by the quotation of a single line, or even of half a line; some instances of which occur in the following Lives. The reason of this is obvious. The works of their best poets were almost universally committed to memory; and the smallest quotation was sufficient to convey the sense of a whole passage.

These observations are matters of mere curiosity, indeed; but they have had their use: for they have naturally pointed out to us another instance of the excellence of that education which formed our young philosopher.

This was the improvement of the memory, by means of exercise.

Mr. Locke has justly, though obviously enough, observed, that nothing so much strengthens this faculty as the employment of it.

The Greek mode of education must have had a wonderful effect in this case. The continual exercise of the memory, in laying up the treasures of their poets, the precepts of their philosophers, and the problems of their mathematicians, must have given it that mechanical power of retention, which nothing could easily escape. Thus Pliny * tells us of a Greek called Charmidas, who could repeat from memory the contents of the largest library.

The advantages Plutarch derived from this exercise, appear in every part of his works. As the writings of poets lived in his memory, they were ready for use and application on every apposite occasion. They were always at hand, either to confirm the sentiments, and justify the principles of his heroes, to support his own, or to illustrate both.

By the aid of a cultivated memory too, he was enabled to write a number of cotemporary Lives, and to assign to each such a portion of business in the general transactions of the times, as might be sufficient to delineate the character, without repeated details of the same actions and negociations. This made a very difficult part of his work; and he acquitted himself here with great management and address. Sometimes, indeed, he has repeated the same

* Hist. Nat. lib. vii. cap. 24.

circumstances in cotemporary lives ; but it was hardly avoidable. The great wonder is, that he has done it so seldom.

But though an improved memory might, in this respect, be of service to him, as undoubtedly it was, there were others in which it was rather a disadvantage. By trusting too much to it, he has fallen into inaccuracies and inconsistencies, where he was professedly drawing from preceding writers ; and we have often been obliged to rectify his mistakes, by consulting those authors, because he would not be at the pains to consult them himself.

If Plutarch might properly be said to belong to any sect of philosophers, his education, the rationality of his principles, and the modesty of his doctrines, would incline us to place him with the latter academy. At least, when he left his master Ammonius, and came into society, it is more than probable, that he ranked particularly with that sect.

His writings, however, furnish us with many reasons for thinking, that he afterwards became a citizen of the philosophical world. He appears to have examined every sect with a calm and unprejudiced attention ; to have selected what he found of use for the purposes of virtue and happiness ; and to have left the rest for the portion of those whose narrowness of mind could think either science or felicity confined to any denomination of men.

From the academicians he took their modesty of opinion, and left them their original scepticism : he borrowed their rational theology, and gave up to them, in a great measure, their metaphysical refinements, together with their vain, though seductive, enthusiasm.

With the peripatetics, he walked in search of natural science, and of logic ; but, satisfied with whatever practical knowledge might be acquired, he left them to dream over the hypothetical part of the former, and to chase the shadows of reason through the mazes of the latter.

To the stoics, he was indebted for the belief of a particular Providence ; but he could not enter into their idea of future rewards and punishments. He knew not how to reconcile the present agency of the Supreme Being with his judicial character hereafter ; though Theodoret tells us, that he had heard of the christian religion, and

inserted several of its mysteries in his works.* From the Stoics too, he borrowed the doctrine of fortitude: but he rejected the unnatural foundation on which they erected that virtue. He went back to Socrates for principles whereon to rest it.

With the Epicureans he does not seem to have had much intercourse, though the accommodating philosophy of Aristippus entered frequently into his politics, and sometimes into the general economy of his life. In the little states of Greece that philosophy had not much to do; but had it been adopted in the more violent measures of the Roman administration, our celebrated biographer would not have had such scenes of blood and ruin to describe; for emulation, prejudice, and opposition, upon whatever principles they might plead their apology, first struck out the fire that laid the commonwealth in ashes. If Plutarch borrowed any thing more from Epicurus, it was his rational idea of enjoyment. That such was his idea, it is more than probable: for it is impossible to believe the tales that the Heathen bigots have told of him, or to suppose that the cultivated mind of a philosopher should pursue its happiness out of the temperate order of nature. His irreligious opinions he left to him, as he had left to the other sects their vanities and absurdities.

But when we bring him to the school of Pythagoras, what idea shall we entertain of him? Shall we consider him any longer as an academician, or as a citizen of the philosophical world? Naturally benevolent and humane, he finds a system of divinity and philosophy perfectly adapted to his natural sentiments. The whole animal creation he had originally looked upon with an instinctive tenderness; but when the amiable Pythagoras, the priest of nature, in defence of the common privileges of her creatures, had called religion into their cause;....when he sought to soften the cruelty that man had exercised against them, by the honest art of insinuating the doctrine of transmigration, how could the humane and benevolent Plutarch refuse to serve under this priest of nature? It was impossible. He adopted the doctrine of the metempsychosis. He entered into the merciful scheme of

* Nothing of Plutarch's is now extant, from which we can infer, that he was acquainted with the christian religion.

Pythagoras, and, like him, diverted the cruelty of the human species, by appealing to the selfish qualities of their nature, by subduing their pride, and exciting their sympathy, while he shewed them that their future existence might be the condition of a reptile.

This spirit and disposition brake strongly from him in his observations on the elder Cato. And as nothing can exhibit a more lively picture of him than these paintings of his own, we shall not scruple to introduce them here: "For my part, I cannot but charge his using his servants "like so many beasts of burthen, and turning them off, "or selling them when they grow old, to the account of a "mean and ungenerous spirit, which thinks that the sole "tie between man and man is interest or necessity. But "goodness moves in a larger sphere than justice. The "obligations of law and equity reach only to mankind, "but kindness and beneficence should be extended to "creatures of every species; and these still flow from "the breast of a well-natured man, as streams that issue "from the living fountain. A good man will take care "of his horses and dogs, not only while they are young, "but when old and past service. Thus the people of "Athens, when they had finished the Temple called "Hecatompedon, set at liberty the beasts of burthen that "had been chiefly employed in the work, suffering them "to pasture at large, free from any other service. It is "said, that one of these afterwards came of its own ac-"cord to work, and putting itself at the head of the la-"bouring cattle, marched before them to the citadel. "This pleased the people, and they made a decree, that "it should be kept at the public charge so long as it "lived. The graves of Simon's mares, with which he "thrice conquered at the Olympic games, are still to be "seen near his own tomb. Many have shown particular "marks of regard, in burying the dogs which they had "cherished and been fond of; and amongst the rest, "Xantippus of old, whose dog swam by the side of his "galley to Salamis, when the Athenians were forced to "abandon their city, and was afterwards buried by him "upon a promontory, which to this day is called the "Dog's Grave. We certainly ought not to treat living "creatures like shoes or household goods, which, when "worn out with use we throw away; and were it only

" to learn benevolence to human kind, we should be " merciful to other creatures. For my own part, I would " not sell even an old ox that had laboured for me ; much " less would I remove, for the sake of a little money, a *man* " grown old in my service, from his usual lodgings and " diet: for to him, poor man! it would be as bad as " banishment, since he could be of no more service to the " buyer than he was to the seller. But Cato, as if he " took a pride in these things, tells us, that when consul " he left his war-horse in Spain, to save the public the " charge of his conveyance. Whether such things as " these are instances of greatness or littleness of soul, let " the reader judge for himself."

What an amiable idea of our benevolent philosopher! How worthy the instructions of the priest of Nature! How honourable to that great master of truth and universal science, whose sentiments were decisive in every doubtful matter, and whose maxims were received with silent conviction!*

Wherefore should we wonder to find Plutarch more particularly attached to the opinions of this great man? Whether we consider the immensity of his erudition, or the benevolence of his system, the motives for that attachment were equally powerful. Pythagoras had collected all the stores of human learning, and had reduced them into one rational and useful body of science. Like our glorious Bacon, he led philosophy forth from the jargon of schools, and the fopperies of sects. He made her what she was originally designed to be, the handmaid of Nature; friendly to her creatures, and faithful to her laws. Whatever knowledge could be gained by human industry, by the most extensive inquiry and observation, he had every means and opportunity to obtain. The priests of Egypt unfolded to him their mysteries and their learning, they led him through the records of the remotest antiquity, and opened all those stores of science that had been amassing through a multitude of ages. The Magi of Persia co-operated with the priests of Egypt in the instruction of this wonderful philosopher. They taught him those higher parts of science, by which they were themselves so much distinguished, astronomy and the system of the universe. The laws of moral life, and the institutions of

* Val. Max. lib. viii. Cap. 15.

civil societies with their several excellencies and defects he learnt from the various states and establishments of Greece. Thus accomplished, when he came to dispute in the Olympic contests, he was considered as a prodigy of wisdom and learning; but when the choice of his title was left to him, he modestly declined the appellation of a *wise man* and was contented only to be called a *lover of wisdom**.

Shall not Plutarch then meet with all imaginable indulgence, if, in his veneration for this great man, he not only adopted the nobler parts of his philosophy, but (what he had avoided with regard to the other sects) followed him too in his errors? Such, in particular, was his doctrine of dreams, to which our biographer, we must confess, has paid too much attention. Yet absolutely to condemn him for this, would, perhaps, be hazarding as much as totally to defend him. We must acknowledge, with the elder Pliny, *Si exemplis, agatur, profecto paria fiant*† ; or, in the language of Sir Roger de Coverley, "Much may be said on both sides." However, if Pliny, whose complaisance for the credit of the marvellous in particular was very great, could be doubtful about this matter, we of little faith may be allowed to be more so. Yet Plutarch, in his Treatise on Oracles, has maintained his doctrine by such powerful Testimonies, that if any regard is to be paid to his veracity, some attention should be given to his opinion. We shall therefore leave the point, where Mr. Addison thought proper to leave a more improbable doctrine, in suspence.

When Zeno consulted the oracle in what manner he should live, the answer was, that he should inquire of the dead. Assiduous and indefatigable application to reading made a considerable part of the Greek education; and in this, our biographer seems to have exerted the greatest industry. The number of books he has quoted, to which he has referred, and from which he has written, seems almost incredible, when it is considered, that the art of printing was not known in his time, and that the purchase of manuscripts was difficult and dear.

His family, indeed, was not without wealth. In his Symposiacs, he tells us, that it was ancient in Chæronea; and that his ancestors had been invested with the most considerable offices in the magistracy. He mentions in

* Val. Max. lib. viii. cap. 7. † Hist. Nat. lib. x. cap. 75.

particular his great-grandfather Nicarchus, whom he had the happiness of knowing; and relates, from his authority, the misfortunes of his fellow-citizens, under the severe discipline of Anthony's soldiers.

His grandfather Lamprias, he tells us, was a man of great eloquence, and of a brilliant imagination. He was distinguished by his merit as a convivial companion; and was one of those happy mortals, who, when they sacrifice to Bacchus, are favoured by Mercury. His good-humor and pleasantry increased with his cups; and he used to say, that wine had the same effect upon him that fire has on incense, which causes the finest and richest essences to evaporate.

Plutarch has mentioned his father likewise; but has not given us his name in any of those writings that are come down to us. However, he has borne honourable testimony to his memory; for he tells us, that he was a learned and a virtuous man, well acquainted with the philosophy and theology of his time, and conversant with the works of the poets. Plutarch, in his political precepts, mentions an instance of his father's discretion, which does him great honour. "I remember," says he, "that I was sent, when a very young man, along with another citizen of Chæronea, on an embassy to the proconsul. My colleague being, by some accident, obliged to stop on the way, I proceeded without him, and executed our commission. Upon my return to Chæronea, when I was to give an account in public of my negociation, my father took me aside and said, My son, take care that in the account you are about to give, you do not mention yourself distinctly, but jointly with your colleague. Say not, *I went*, *I spoke*, *I executed*; but *we went*, *we spake*, *we executed*. Thus though your colleague was incapable of attending you, he will share in the honour of your success, as well as in that of your appointment; and you will avoid that envy which necessarily follows all arrogated merit."

Plutarch had two brothers, whose names were Timon and Lamprias. These were his associates in study and amusement; and he always speaks of them with pleasure and affection. Of Timon in particular he says, 'Though Fortune has, in many occasions, been favourable to me, yet I have no obligation to her so great as the enjoyment

of my brother Timon's invariable friendship and kindness." Lamprias too he mentions as inheriting the lively disposition and good-humour of his grandfather, who bore the same name.

Some writers have asserted, that Plutarch passed into Egypt. Others allege, that there is no authority for that assertion: and it is true that we have no written record concerning it. Nevertheless, we incline to believe, that he did not travel into that country; and we found our opinion on the following reasons. In the first place, this tour was a part of liberal education among the Greeks; and Plutarch, being descended from a family of distinction, was therefore likely to enjoy such a privilege. In the next place, his treatise of Isis and Osiris, shews that he had a more than common knowledge of the religious mysteries of the Egyptians; and it is therefore highly probable, that he obtained this knowledge by being conversant amongst them. To have written a treatise on so abstruse a subject, without some more eminent advantages than other writers might afford him, could not have been agreeable to the genius, or consistent with the modesty of Plutarch.

However, supposing it doubtful whether he passed into Egypt, there is no doubt at all that he travelled into Italy. Upon what occasion he visited that country, it is not quite so certain; but he probably went to Rome, in a public capacity, on the business of the Chæroneans. For, in the life of Demosthenes, he tells us, that he had no leisure in his journey to Italy, to learn the Latin language, on the account of public business.

As the passage here referred to affords us further matter of speculation for the life of Plutarch, we shall give it as we find it. "An author who would write a history of events which happened in a foreign country, and cannot be come at in his own, as he has his materials to collect from a variety of books, dispersed in different libraries, his first care should be to take up his residence in some populous town which has an ambition for literature. There he will meet with many curious and valuable books, and the particulars that are wanting in writers he may; upon enquiry, be supplied with, by those who have laid them up in the faithful repository of memory. This will prevent his work from being defective in any mate-

rial point. As to myself, I live in a little town; and I choose to live there, lest it should become still less. When I was in Rome, and other parts of Italy, I had not leisure to study the Latin tongue, on account of the public commissions with which I was charged, and the number of people who came to be instructed by me in philosophy. It was not, therefore, till a late period in life that I began to read the Roman authors."

From this short account we may collect, with tolerable certainty, the following circumstances:

In the first place, Plutarch tells us, that while he was resident in Rome, public business and lectures in philosophy left him no time for learning the Latin language; and yet, a little before, he had observed, that those who write a history of foreign characters and events, ought to be conversant with the historians of that country where the character existed, and the scene is laid: but he acknowledges, that he did not learn the Latin language till he was late in life, because, when at Rome, he had not time for that purpose.

We may, therefore, conclude, that he wrote his Morals at Rome, and his Lives at Chæronea. For the composition of the former, the knowledge of the Roman language was not necessary: the Greek tongue was then generally understood in Rome; and he had no necessity for making use of any other, when he delivered his lectures of Philosophy to the people. Those lectures, it is more than probable, made up that collection of Morals which is come down to us.

Though he could not avail himself of the Roman historians, in the great purpose of writing his Lives, for want of a competent acquaintance with the language in which they wrote; yet by conversing with the principal citizens in the Greek tongue, he must have collected many essential circumstances, and anecdotes of characters and events, that promoted his design, and enriched the plan of his work. The treasures he acquired of this kind he secured by means of a common-place book, which he constantly carried about with him: and it appears that he was at Rome, and in other parts of Italy, from the beginning of Vespasian's reign to the end of Trajan's, he must have had sufficient time and opportunity to procure materials of every kind; for this was a period of almost forty years.

We shall the more readily enter into the belief that Plutarch collected his materials chiefly from conversation, when we consider in what manner, and on what subjects, the ancients used to converse. The discourse of people of education and distinction in those days was somewhat different from that of ours. It was not on the powers or pedigree of a horse: it was not on a match of travelling between geese and turkies: it was not on a race of maggots, started against each other on the table, when they first came to day-light from the shell of a filbert: it was not by what part you may suspend a spaniel the longest without making him whine: it was not on the exquisite finesse, and the highest manœuvres of play. The old Romans had no ambition for attainments of this nature. They had no such masters in science as Heber and Hoyle. The taste of their day did not run so high. The powers of poetry and philosophy, the œconomy of human life and manners, the cultivation of the intellectual faculties, the enlargement of the mind, historical and political discussions on the events of their country; ....these, and such subjects as these, made the principal part of their conversation. Of this Plutarch has given us at once a proof and specimen, in what he calls his Symposiacs, or, as our Selden calls it, his Table-Talk. From such conversations as these, then, we cannot wonder that he was able to collect such treasures as were necessary for the maintenance of his biographical undertaking.

In the sequel of the last quoted passage, we find another argument which confirms us in the opinion that Plutarch's knowledge of the Roman history was chiefly of colloquial acquisition. "My method of learning the Roman language, says he, may seem strange; and yet it is very true. I did not so much gain the knowledge of things by words, as words by the knowledge I had of things." This plainly implies, that he was previously acquainted with the events described in the language he was learning.

It must be owned that the Roman History had been already written in Greek by Polybius; and that, indeed, somewhat invalidates the last-mentioned argument. Nevertheless, it has still sufficient evidence for its support.

There are a thousand circumstances in Plutarch's Lives, which could not be collected from Polybius; and it is clear to us, that he did not make much use of his Latin reading.

He acknowleges that he did not apply himself to the acquisition of that language till he was far advanced in life: possibly it might be about the latter part of the reign of Trajan, whose kind disposition towards his country, rendered the weight of public and political business easy to him

But whenever he might begin to learn the language of Rome, it is certain that he made no great progress in it. This appears as well from the little comments he has occasionally given us on certain Latin words, as from some passages in his Lives, where he has professedly followed the Latin historians, and yet followed them in an uncertain an erroneous manner.

That he wrote the life of Demosthenes and Cicero at Chæronea, it is clear from his own account; and it is more than probable too, that the rest of his Lives were written in that retirement; for if, while he was at Rome, he could scarcely find time to learn the language, it is hardly to be supposed that he could do more than lay up materials for composition.

A circumstance arises here, which confirms to us an opinion we have long entertained, that the Book of Apophthegms, which is said to have been written by Plutarch, is really not his work. This book is dedicated to Trajan; and the dedicator, assuming the name and character of Plutarch, says, he had, before this, written the Lives of illustrious men: but Plutarch wrote those Lives at Chæronea; and he did not retire to Chæronea till after the death of Trajan.

There are other proofs, if others were necessary, to shew that this work was suppositious. For in this dedication to Trajan, not the least mention is made of Plutarch's having been his preceptor, of his being raised by him to the consular dignity, or of his being appointed governor of Illyria. Dacier, observing this, has drawn a wrong conclusion from it, and, contrary to the assertion of Suidas, will have it, that Plutarch was neither preceptor to Trajan, nor honored with any appointments under him. Had it occurred to him that the Book of Apophthegms could not be Plutarch's book, but that it was merely an extract made from his real works, by some in-

dustrious grammarian, he would not have been under the necessity of hazarding so much against the received opinion of his connections with Trajan; nor would he have found it necessary to allow so little credit to his letter addressed to that emperor, which we have upon record. The letter is as follows:

PLUTARCH to TRAJAN.

"I am sensible that you sought not the empire. Your natural modesty would not suffer you to apply for a distinction to which you were always entitled by the excellency of your manners. That modesty, however, makes you still more worthy of those honours you had no ambition to solicit. Should your future government prove in any degree answerable to your former merit, I shall have reason to congratulate both your virtue and my own good fortune on this great event. But if otherwise, you have exposed yourself to danger, and me to obloquy, for Rome will never endure an emperor unworthy of her; and the faults of the scholar will be imputed to the master. Seneca is reproached, and his fame still suffers for the vices of Nero: the reputation of Quintilian is hurt by the ill conduct of his scholars; and even Socrates is accused of negligence in the education of Alcibiades. Of you, however, I have better hopes, and flatter myself that your administration will do honour to your virtues. Only continue to be what you are. Let your government commence in your breast, and lay the foundation of it in the command of your passions. If you make virtue the rule of your conduct, and the end of your actions, every thing will proceed in harmony and order. I have explained to you the spirit of those laws and constitutions that were established by your predecessors; and you have nothing to do but to carry them into execution. If this should be the case, I shall have the glory of having formed an emperor to virtue; but if otherwise, let this letter remain a testimony with succeeding ages, that you did not ruin the Roman empire under pretence of the counsels or the authority of Plutarch."

Why Dacier should think that this letter is neither worthy of the pen, nor written in the manner of Plutarch, it is not easy to conceive; for it has all the spirit, the

manly freedom, and the sentimental turn of that philosopher.

We shall find it no very difficult matter to account for his connections with Trajan, if we attend to the manner in which he lived, and to the reception he met with in Rome. During his residence in that city, his house was the resort of the principal citizens. All that were distinguished by their rank, taste, learning, or politeness, sought his conversation, and attended his lectures. The study of the Greek language and philosophy was, at that time, the greatest pursuits of the Roman nobility, and even the emperors honoured the most celebrated professors with their presence and support. Plutarch, in his Treatise on Curiosity, has introduced a circumstance, which places the attention that was paid to his lectures in a very strong light. "It once happened," says he, "that when I was speaking in public at Rome, Arulenus Rusticus, the same whom Domitian, through envy of his growing reputation, afterwards put to death, was one of my hearers. When I was in the middle of my discourse, a soldier came in, and brought him a letter from the emperor. Upon this, there was a general silence through the audience, and I stopped to give him time to peruse this letter; but he would not suffer it; nor did he open the letter till I had finished my lecture, and the audience was dispersed."

To understand the importance of this compliment, it will be necessary to consider the quality and character of the person who paid it. Arulenus was one of the greatest men in Rome; distinguished as well by the lustre of his family, as by an honourable ambition and thirst of glory. He was tribune of the people when Nero caused Pætus and Soranus to be capitally condemned by a decree of the senate. When Soranus was deliberating with his friends, whether he should attempt or give up his defence, Arulenus had the spirit to propose an opposition to the decree of the senate, in his capacity of tribune; and he would have carried it into execution, had he not been over-ruled by Pætus, who remonstrated, that by such a measure he would destroy himself, without the satisfaction of serving his friend. He was afterwards prætor under Vitellius, whose interests he followed with the greatest fidelity. But his spirit and magnanimity do him the greatest ho-

nour, in that eulogy which he wrote on Pætus and Helvidius Priscus. His whole conduct was regulated by the precepts of philosophy; and the respect he shewed to Plutarch on this occasion was a proof of his attachment to it. Such was the man who postponed the letter of a prince to the lecture of a philosopher.

But Plutarch was not only treated with general marks of distinction by the superior people in Rome; he had particular and very respectable friendships. Sossius Senecio, who was four times consul, once under Nerva, and thrice under Trajan, was his most intimate friend. To him he addresses his Lives, except that of Aratus, which is inscribed to Polycrates of Sycion, the grandson of Aratus. With Senecio he not only lived in the strictest friendship whilst he was in Rome, but corresponded with him after he retired to Greece. And it is not easy to believe, that through the interest of this zealous and powerful friend, Plutarch might not only be appointed tutor to Trajan, but be advanced likewise to the consular dignity? When we consider Plutarch's eminence in Rome as a teacher of philosophy, nothing can be more probable than the former....when we remember the consular interest of Senecio under Trajan, and his distinguished regard for Plutarch, nothing can be more likely than the latter.

The honour of being preceptor to such a virtuous prince as Trajan, is so important a point in the life of Plutarch, that it must not hastily be given up. Suidas has asserted it. The letter above quoted, if it be, as we have no doubt of its being, the genuine composition of Plutarch, has confirmed it. Petrarch has maintained it. Dacier only has doubted, or rather denied it. But upon what evidence has he grounded his opinion? Plutarch, he says, was but three or four years older than Trajan, and therefore was unfit to be his preceptor in philosophy. Now let us enquire into the force of this argument. Trajan spent the early part of his life in arms: Plutarch in the study of the sciences. When that prince applied himself to literary pursuits, he was somewhat advanced in life: Plutarch must have been more so. And why a man of science should be an unfit preceptor in philosophy to a military man, though no more than four years older,

the reason, we apprehend, will be somewhat difficult to discover.

Dacier, moreover, is reduced to a *petitio principii*, when he says that Plutarch was only four years older than Trajan : for we have seen that it is impossible to ascertain the time of Plutarch's birth ; and that the date which Dacier assigns it is purely conjectural : We will therefore conclude, with those learned men who have formerly allowed Plutarch the honour of being preceptor to Trajan, that he certainly was so. There is little doubt that they grounded their assertions upon proper authority, and, indeed, the internal evidence arising from the nature and effects of that education, which did equal honour to the scholar and to the master, comes in aid of the argument.

Some chronologers have taken upon them to ascertain the time when Plutarch's reputation was established in Rome. Peter of Alexandria fixes it in the thirteenth year of the reign of Nero, in the consulate of Capito and Rufus : "Lucian," says he, "was, at this time, in great reputation amongst the Romans ; and Musonius and Plutarch were well known." Eusebius brings it one year lower, and tells us, that, in the fourteenth year of Nero's reign, Musonius and Plutarch were in great reputation. Both these writers are palpably mistaken. We have seen, that, in the twelfth year of Nero, Plutarch was yet at school under Ammonius ; and it is not very probable that a school-boy should be celebrated as a philosopher in Rome, within a year or two after. Indeed, Eusebius contradicts himself ; for, on another occasion, he places him in the reign of Adrian, the third year of the Olympiad 224, of the christian æra 120 : "In this year," says he, "the philosophers Plutarch of Chæronea, Sextus, and Agathobulus, flourished." Thus he carries him as much too low, as he had before placed him too high. It is certain, that he first grew into reputation under the reign of Vespasian, and that his philosophical fame was established in the time of Trajan.

It seems that the Greek and Latin writers of those times were either little acquainted with each other's works, or that there were some literary jealousies and animosities between them. When Plutarch flourished, there were several cotemporary writers of distinguished

abilities; Perseus, Lucan, Silius Italicus, Valerius Flaccus, the younger Pliny, Solinus, Martial, Quintilian, and many more. Yet none of those have made the least mention of him. Was this envy? or was it Roman pride? Possibly, they could not bear that a Greek sophist, a native of such a contemptible town as Chæronea, should enjoy the palm of literary praise in Rome. It must be observed, at the same time, that the principal Roman writers had conceived a jealousy of the Greek philosophers, which was very prevailing in that age. Of this we find a strong testimony in the elder Pliny, where speaking of Cato the Censor's disapproving and dismissing the Grecian orators, and of the younger Cato's bringing in triumph a sophist from Greece, he exclaims in terms that signified contempt, *quanta morum commutatio!*

However, to be undistinguished by the encomiums of cotemporary writers, was by no means a thing peculiar to Plutarch. It has been, and still is, the fate of superior genius, to be beheld either with the silent or abusive envy. It makes its way like the sun, which we look upon with pain, unless something passes over him that obscures his glory. We then view with eagerness the shadow, the cloud, or the spot, and are pleased with what eclipses the brightness we otherwise cannot bear.

Yet, if Plutarch, like other great men, found "envy never conquered but by death," his manes have been appeased by the amplest atonements. Amongst the many that have done honour to his memory, the following eulogiums deserve to be recorded.

Aulus Gellius compliments him with the highest distinction in science.*

Taurus, quoted by Gellius, calls him a man of the most consummate learning and wisdom.†

Eusebius places him at the head of the Greek philosophers.‡

Sardianus, in his preface to the Lives of the Philosophers, calls him the most divine Plutarch, the beauty and harmony of philosophy.

Petrarch, in his moral writings, frequently distinguishes him by the title of the great Plutarch.

* A. Gellius, lib. iv. cap. 7. † Gell. lib. i. cap. 26. ‡ Euseb. Præp. lib. iii. init.

Honour has been done to him likewise by Origen, Himerius the Sophist, Cyrillus, Theodoret, Suidas, Photius, Xiphilinus, Joannes, Salisberiensis, Victorius, Lipsius, and Agathias, in the epigram which is thus translated by Dryden :—

> Chæronean Plutarch, to thy deathless praise
> Does martial Rome this grateful statue raise ;
> Because both Greece and she thy fame have shar'd ;
> Their heroes written, and their lives compar'd.
> But thou thyself could'st never write thy own :
> Their lives have parallels, but thine has none.

But this is perfectly extravagant. We are much better pleased with the Greek verses of the honest metropolitan under Constantine Monomachus. They deserve to be translated—

> Lord of that light, that living power, to save
> Which her lost sons no Heathen SCIENCE gave;
> If aught of these thy mercy means to spare,
> Yield PLATO, Lord, yield PLUTARCH to my prayer.
> Led by no grace, no new conversion wrought,
> They felt thy own divinity of thought.
> That grace exerted, spare the partial rod :
> The last, best witness, that thou art their God!

Theodore Gaza, who was a man of considerable learning, and a great reviver of letters, had a particular attachment to our biographer. When he was asked, in case of a general destruction of books, what author he would wish to save from the ruin, he answered Plutarch He considered his historical and philosophical writings as the most beneficial to society, and, of course, the best substitute for all other books.

Were it necessary to produce further suffrages for the merit of Plutarch, it would be sufficient to say, that he has been praised by Montaign, St. Evremond and Montesquieu, the best critics and the ablest writers of their time.

After receiving the most distinguished honours that a philosopher could enjoy ; after the god-like office of teaching wisdom and goodness to the metropolis of the world ; after having formed an emperor to virtue ; and after beholding the effects of his precepts in the happiness of human kind ; Plutarch retired to his native country. The death of his illustrious prince and pupil, to a

man of his sensibility, must have rendered Rome even painful : for whatever influence philosophy may have on the cultivation of the mind, we find that it has very little power over the interests of the heart.

It must have been in the decline of life that Plutarch retired to Chæronea. But though he withdrew from the busier scenes of the world, he fled not to an unprofitable or inactive solitude. In that retirement he formed the great work for which he had been so long preparing materials, his lives of illustrious men ; a work which, as Scaliger says, *non solum fuit in manibus hominum, at etiam humani generis memoriam occupavit.*

To recommend by encomiums what has been received with universal approbation, would be superfluous. But to observe where the biographer has excelled, and in what he has failed ; to make a due estimate as well of the defects as of the merits of his work ; may have its use.

Lipsius has observed, that he does not write history, but scraps of history; *non historiam, sed particulas historiæ.* This is said of his lives, and, in one sense, it is true. No single life that he has written will afford a sufficient history of its proper period ; neither was it possible that it should do so. As his plan comprized a number of cotemporary lives, most of which were in public characters, the business of their period was to be divided amongst them. The general history of the time was to be thrown into separate portions ; and those portions were to be allotted to such characters as had the principal interest in the several events.

This was in some measure, done by Plutarch; but it was not done with great art or accuracy. At the same time, as we have already observed, it is not to be wondered, if there were some repetitions, when the part which the several characters bore in the principal events, was necessary to be pointed out.

Yet these scraps of history, thus divided and dispersed, when seen in a collective form, make no very imperfect narrative of the times within their view. Their biographer's attention to the minuter circumstances of character, his dispositions of principals and manners, and his political and philosophical discussions, lead us in an easy and intelligent manner, to the events he describes.

It is not to be denied, that his narratives are sometimes disorderly, and too often encumbered with imper-

tinent digressions. By pursuing with too much indulgence the train of ideas, he has frequently destroyed the order of facts, brought together events that lay at a distance from each other, called forward those circumstances to which he should have made a regular progress, and made no other apology for these idle excursions, but by telling us that he is out of the order of time.

Notes, in the time of Plutarch, were not in use. Had he known the convenience of marginal writing, he would certainly have thrown the greatest part of his digressions into that form. They are, undoubtedly, tedious and disgustful; and all we can do to reconcile ourselves to them, is to remember, that, in the first place, marginal writing was a thing unknown; and that the benevolent desire of conveying instruction, was the greatest motive with the biographer for introducing them. This appears at least from the nature of them; for they are chiefly, disquisitions in natural history and philosophy.

In painting the manners of men, Plutarch is truly excellent. Nothing can be more clear than his moral distinctions; nothing finer than his delineations of the mind.

The spirit of philosophical observation and inquiry, which, when properly directed, is the great ornament and excellence of historical composition, Plutarch possessed in an eminent degree. His biographical writings teach philosophy at once by precept and by example. His morals and his characters mutually explain and give force to each other.

His sentiments of the duty of a biographer were peculiarly just and delicate. This will appear from his strictures on those historians who wrote of Philistus. "It is plain, says he, that Timæus takes every occasion, from Philistus's known adherence to arbitrary power, to load him with the heaviest reproaches. Those whom he injured are in some degree excusable, if, in their resentment, they treated him with indignities after death. But wherefore should his biographers, whom he never injured, and who have had the benefit of his works; wherefore should they exhibit him with all the exaggerations of scurrillity in those scenes of distress to which fortune sometimes reduces the best of men? On the other hand Ephorus is no less extravagant in his encomiums on Philistus. He knows well how to throw into shades the foibles of the

human character, and to give an air of plausibility to the most indefensible conduct: but with all his elegance, with all his art he cannot rescue Philistus from the imputation of being the most strenuous supporter of arbitrary power, of being the fondest follower and admirer of the luxury, the magnificence, the alliance of tyrants. Upon the whole he who neither defends the principles of Philistus, nor insults over his misfortunes, will best discharge the duty of the historian.

There is such a thing as constitutional religion. There is a certain temper and frame of mind naturally productive of devotion. There are men who are born with the original principles of piety; and in this class we need not hesitate to place Plutarch.

If this disposition has sometimes made him too indulgent to superstition, and too attentive to the less rational circumstances of the heathen theology, it is not to be wondered. But, upon the whole, he had consistent and honourable notions of the Supreme Being.

That he believed the unity of the divine nature, we have already seen in his observations on the word ει, engraved on Apollo's temple. The same opinion too is found in his Treatise on the cessation of oracles; where, in the character of a Platonist, he argues against the Stoics, who denied the plurality of worlds. "If there are many worlds, said the Stoics, why then is there only one fate, and one Providence to guide them? for the Platonists allow that there is but one,....Why should not many Jupiters or gods, be necessary for the government of many worlds?" To this Plutarch answers, "Where is the necessity of supposing many Jupiters for this plurality of worlds? Is not one excellent Being, endued with reason and intelligence, such as he is whom we acknowledge to be the Father and Lord of all things, sufficient to direct and rule these worlds? If there were more supreme agents, their decrees would be vain, and contradictory to each other?

But though Plutarch acknowledged the individuality of the supreme being, he believed, nevertheless, in the existence of intermediate beings of an inferior order, between the divine and the human nature. These beings he calls genii, or dæmons. It is impossible, he thinks, from the general order and principles of creation, that there should be no mean betwixt the two extremes of a

mortal and immortal being; that there cannot be in nature so great a vacuum, without some intermediate species of life, which might in some measure partake of both. And as we find the connection between soul and body to be made by means of the animal spirits, so these dæmons are intelligences betwen divinity and humanity. Their nature, however, is believed to be progressive. At first they are supposed to have been virtuous men, whose souls being resigned from the gross parts of their former existence, are admitted into the higher order of genii, and are from thence either raised to a more exalted mode of ætherial being, or degraded to mortal forms, according to their merit or their degeneracy. One order of these genii, he supposes, presided over oracles; others administered, under the supreme Being, the affairs and the fortunes of men, supporting the virtuous, punishing the bad, and sometimes even communicating with the best and purest natures. Thus the genius of Socrates still warned him of approaching danger, and taught him to avoid it.

It is this order of beings which the late Mr. Thomson, who in enthusiasm was a Platonist, and in benevolence a Pythagorean, has so beautifully described, in his Seasons: and, as if the good bard had believed the doctrine, he pathetically invokes a favourite spirit which had lately forsaked its former mansion:

> And art thou, Stanly, of that sacred band?
> Alas! for us too soon!———

Such were Plutarch's religious principles; and as a proof that he thought them of consequence, he entered, after his retirement, into a sacred character, and was consecrated priest of Apollo.

This was not his sole appointment, when he returned to Chæronea. He united the sacerdotal with the magistratial character, and devoted himself at once to the service of the gods, and to the duties of society. He did not think that philosophy, or the pursuit of letters, ought to to exempt any man from personal service in the community to which he belonged; and though his literary labours were of the greatest importance to the world, he sought no excuse in those from discharging offices of public trust in his little city of Chæronea.

It appears that he passed through several of these offices, and that he was, at last, appointed archon, or chief

magistrate of the city. Whether he retained his superintendency of Illyria after the death of Trajan, we do not certainly know: but, in this humble sphere, it will be worth our while to inquire in what manner a philosopher would administer justice.

With regard to the inferior offices that he bore, he looked upon them in the same light as the great Epaminondas had done, who, when he was appointed to a commission beneath his rank, observed, "that no office could give dignity to him that held it; but that he who held it might give dignity to any office." It is not unentertaining to hear our philosopher apologize for his employment when he discharges the office of commissioner of sewers and public buildings. "I make no doubt," says he, "that the citizens of Chæronea often smile, when they see me employed in such offices as these. On such occasions, I generally call to mind what is said of Antisthenes. When he was bringing home, in his own hands, a dirty fish from the market, some, who observed it, expressed their surprise: It is for myself, said Antisthenes, that I carry this fish. On the contrary, for my own part, when I am rallied for measuring tiles, or for calculating a quantity of stones or mortar, I answer, that it is *not* for myself I do these things, but for my country. For, in all things of this nature the public utility takes off the disgrace; and the meaner the office you sustain may be, the greater is the compliment that you pay to the public."

Plutarch, in the capacity of a public magistrate, was indefatigable in recommending unanimity to the citizens. To carry this point more effectually, he lays it down as a first principle, that a magistrate should be affable and easy of access; that his house should always be open as a place of refuge for those who sought for justice; and that he should not satisfy himself merely with allotting certain hours of the day to sit for the dispatch of business, but that he should employ a part of his time in private negociations, in making up domestic quarrels, and reconciling divided friends. This employment he regarded as one of the principal parts of his office; and, indeed, he might properly consider it in a political light; for it too frequently happens, that the most dangerous public factions are at first kindled by private misunderstandings.

Thus, in one part of his works, he falls into the same sentiment: "As public conflagrations, says he, do not always begin in public edifices, but are caused more frequently by some lamp neglected in a private house; so in the administration of states, it does not always happen that the flame of sedition arises from political differences, but from private dissentions, which running through a long chain of connections, at length affect the whole body of the people. For this reason, it is one of the principal duties of a minister of state or magistrate, to heal these private animosities, and to prevent them from growing into public divisions."....After these observations, he mentions several states and cities which had owed their ruin to the same little causes: and then adds, that we ought not by any means to be inattentive to the misunderstandings of private men, but apply to them the most timely remedies; for, by proper care, as Cato observes, what is great becomes little, and what is little is reduced to nothing. Of the truth of these observations, the annals of our own country, we wish we had no reason to say our own times, have presented us with many melancholy instances.

As Plutarch observed that it was a fashionable fault amongst men of fortune to refuse a proper respect to magistrates of inferior rank, he endeavoured to remove this impolitic evil as well by precept as by example. "To learn obedience and deference to the magistrate, says he, is one of the first and best principles of discipline; nor ought these by any means to be dispensed with, though that magistrate should be inferior to us in figure or in fortune. For how absurd is it, if, in theatrical exhibitions, the meanest actor, that wears a momentary diadem, shall receive his due respect from superior players; and yet, in civil life, men of greater power or wealth shall withhold the deference that is due to the magistrate! In this case, however, they should remember, that while they consult their own importance, they detract from the honour of the state. Private dignity ought always to give place to public authority; as, in Sparta, it was usual for the kings to rise in compliment to the ephori."

With regard to Plutarch's political principles, it is clear that he was, even whilst at Rome, a republican in heart, and a friend to liberty: But this does him no pecu-

liar honour. Such privileges are the birth-right of mankind; and they are never parted with but through fear or favour. At Rome, he acted like a philosopher of the world. *Quando noi siamo in Roma, noi facciamo come Eglino fanno in Roma.* He found a constitution which he had not power to alter; yet, though he could not make mankind free, he made them comparatively happy, by teaching clemency to their temporary ruler.

At Chæronea we find him more openly avowing the principles of liberty. During his residence at Rome, he had remarked an essential error in the police. In all complaints and processes, however trifling, the people had recourse to the first officers of state. By this means they supposed that their interest would be promoted; but it had a certain tendency to enslave them still more, and to render them the tools and dependents of court power. Of these measures the archon of Chæronea thus expresses his disapprobation: "At the same time, says he, that we endeavour to render a city obedient to its magistrates we must beware of reducing it to a servile or too humiliating a condition. Those who carry every trifle to the cognizance of the supreme magistrate, are contributing all they can to the servitude of their country." And it is undoubtedly true, that the habitual and universal exertion of authority has a natural tendency to arbitrary dominion.

We have now considered Plutarch in the light of a philosopher, a biographer, and a magistrate; we have entered into his moral, religious, and political character, as well as the informations we could obtain would enable us. It only remains that we view him in the domestic sphere of life....that little, but trying sphere, where we act wholly from ourselves, and assume no character but that which nature and education has given us.

Dacier, on falling into this part of Plutarch's history, has made a whimsical observation. "There are two cardinal points, says he, in a man's life, which determine his happiness or his misery. These are his birth and his marriage. It is in vain for a man to be born fortunate, if he be unfortunate in his marriage." How Dacier could reconcile the astrologers to this new doctrine, it is not easy to say: for, upon this principle, a man must at least have two good stars, one for his birth-day, the other for

his wedding-day; as it seems that the influence of the natal star could not extend beyond the bridal morn, but that a man then falls under a different dominion.

At what time Plutarch entered into this state, we are not quite certain; but as it is not probable that a man of his wisdom would marry at an advanced time of life, and as his wife was a native of Chæronea, we may conclude that he married before he went to Rome. However that might be, it appears that he was fortunate in his choice; for his wife was not only well-born and well-bred, but a woman of distinguished sense and virtue. Her name was Timoxena.

Plutarch appears to have had at least five children by her, four sons, and a daughter, whom, out of regard for her mother, he called Timoxena. He has given us a proof that he had all the tenderness of an affectionate father for these children, by recording a little instance of his daughter's natural benevolence. "When she was very young," says he, "she would frequently beg of her nurse to give the breast not only to the other children, but to her babies and dolls, which she considered as her dependents, and under her protection." Who does not see, in this simple circumstance, at once the fondness of the parent, and the benevolent disposition of the man?

But the philosopher soon lost his little blossom of humanity. His Timoxena died in her infancy; and if we may judge from the consolatory letter he wrote to her mother on the occasion, he bore the loss as became a philosopher. "Consider, says he, that death has deprived your Timoxena only of small enjoyments. The things she knew were but of little consequence, and she could be delighted only with trifles." In this letter we find a portrait of his wife, which does her the greatest honour. From the testimony given by her husband, it appears that she was far above the general weakness and affectation of her sex. She had no passion for the expensiveness of dress, or the parade of public appearances. She thought every kind of extravagance blameable; and her ambition went not beyond the decencies and proprieties of life.

Plutarch had before this buried two of his sons, his eldest son, and a younger named Charon; and it appears from the above-mentioned letter, that the conduct of Timoxena, on these events, was worthy the wife of a philo-

sopher. She did not disfigure herself by change of apparel, or give way to the extravagance of grief, as women in general do on such occasions, but supported the dispensations of Providence with a solemn and rational submission, even when they seemed to be most severe. She had taken unwearied pains, and undergone the greatest sufferings, to nurse her son Charon at her own breast, at a time when an abscess formed near the part had obliged her to undergo an incision. Yet, when the child, reared with so much tender pain and difficulty, died, those who went to visit her on the melancholy occasion, found her house in no more disorder than if nothing distressful had happened. She received her friends as Admetus entertained Hercules, who, the same day that he buried Alceste, betrayed not the least confusion before his heroic guest.

With a woman of so much dignity of mind and excellence of disposition, a man of Plutarch's wisdom and humanity must have been infinitely happy: and, indeed, it appears from those precepts of conjugal happiness and affection which he has left us, that he has drawn his observations from experience, and that the rules he recommended had been previously exemplified in his own family.

It is said that Plutarch had some misunderstanding with his wife's relations; upon which Timoxena, fearing that it might affect their union, had duty and religion enough to go as far as Mount Helicon and sacrifice to Love, who had a celebrated temple there.

He left two sons, Plutarch and Lamprius. The latter appears to have been a philosopher, and it is to him we are indebted for a catalogue of his father's writings; which, however, one cannot look upon, as Mr. Dryden says, without the same emotions that a merchant must feel in perusing a bill of freight after he has lost his vessel. The writings no longer extant are these:

Four books of Commentaries on Homer.
Four books of Commentaries on Hesiod.
Five books to Empedocles, on the Quintessence.
Five books of Essays.
Three books of Fables.
Three books of Rhetoric.

Three books on the Introduction of the Soul.
Two books of Extracts from the Philosophers.
Three books on Sense.
Three books on the great Actions of Cities.
Two books on Politics.
An Essay on Opportunity, to Theophrastus.
Four books on the Obsolete Parts of History.
Two books of Proverbs.
Eight books on the Topics of Aristotle.
Three books on Justice, to Chrysippus.
An Essay on Poetry.
A Dissertation on the difference between the Pyrrhanians and the Academicians.
A Treatise to prove that there was but one Academy of Plato.

The Lives of
- Hercules,
- Hesiod,
- Pindar,
- Crates and Daiphantus, with a parallel,
- Leonidas,
- Aristomenes,
- Scipio Africanus Junior, and Mentellus,
- Augustus,
- Tiberius,
- Claudius,
- Nero,
- Caligula,
- Vitellius,
- Epaminondas and the elder Scipio, with a parallel.

Aulus Gellius has taken a long story from Taurus, about Plutarch's method of correcting a slave, in which there is nothing more than this, that he punished him like a philosopher, and gave him his discipline without being out of temper.

Plutarch had a nephew named Sextus, who bore a considerable reputation in the world of letters, and taught the Greek language and learning to Marcus Antonius. The character which that philosopher has given him, in his First Book of Reflections, may, with great propriety, be applied to his uncle. "Sextus, by his example, taught me mildness and humanity; to govern my house like a

good father of a family ; to fall into an easy and unaffected gravity of manners ; to live agreeably to nature ; to find out the art of discovering and preventing the wants of my friends ; to connive at the noisy follies of the ignorant and impertinent ; and to comply with the understandings and the humours of men."

One of the rewards of philosophy is long life ; and it is clear that Plutarch enjoyed this ; but of the time, or the circumstances of his death, we have no satisfactory account.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

THESEUS.

AS geographers thrust into the extremities of their maps those countries that are unknown to them, remarking at the same time, that all beyond is hills of sand and haunts of wild beasts, frozen seas, marshes, and mountains that are inaccessible to human courage or industry; so, in comparing the lives of illustrious men, when I have past through those periods of time which may be described with probability, and where history may find firm footing in facts, I may say, my Senecio *, of the remoter ages, that all beyond is full of prodigy and fiction, the regions of poets and fabulists, wrapt in clouds, and unworthy of belief†. Yet since I had given an account of Lycurgus and Numa, I thought I might without impropriety ascend to Romulus, as I had approached his times. But considering

> Who, for the palm, in contest high shall join?
> Or who in equal ranks shall stand?

(as Æschylus expresses it) it appeared to me, that he who peopled the beautiful and famed city of Athens, might be best contrasted and compared with the father of the magnificent and invincible Rome. Permit us then to

* Sossius Senecio, a man of consular dignity, who flourished under Nerva and Trajan, and to whom Pliny addressed some of his Epistles; not the Senecio put to death by Domitian.

† The wild fictions of the fabulous ages may partly be accounted for from the genius of the writers, who (as Plutarch observes) were chiefly poets; and partly from an affectation of something extraordinary or præternatural in antiquity, which has generally prevailed, both in nations and families.

take from Fable her extravagance, and make her yield to, and accept the form of, History: but where she obstinately despises probability, and refuses to mix with what is credible; we must implore the candour of our readers, and their kind allowance for the tales of Antiquity.

Theseus, then, appeared to answer to Romulus in many particulars. Both were of uncertain parentage, born out of wedlock; and both had the repute of being sprung from the gods. Both stood in the first rank of warriors; for both had great powers of mind, with great strength of body. One was the founder of Rome, and one peopled Athens, the most illustrious cities in the world. Both carried off women by violence. Both were involved in domestic miseries, and exposed to family resentment: and both, towards the end of their lives, are said to have offended their respective citizens, if we may believe what seems to be delivered with the least mixture of poetical fiction.

The lineage of Theseus, by his father's side, stretches to Erectheus and the first inhabitants of his country *; by his mother's side to Pelops †, who was the most powerful of all the Pelopennesian kings, not only on account of his great opulence, but the number of his children; for he married his daughters to persons of the first dignity, and found means to place his sons at the head of the chief states. One of them named Pittheus, grandfather to Theseus, founded the small city of Trœzene, and was esteemed the most learned, and the wisest man of his age.

* Theseus was the sixth in descent from Erectheus, or Erichthonius, said to be the son of Vulcan and Minerva, or Cranae, granddaughter of Cranus, the second king of Athens; so that Plutarch very justly says, that Theseus was descended from the Autocthones, or first inhabitants of Attica, who were so called because they pretended to be born in that very country. It is generally allowed, however, that this kingdom was founded by Cecrops an Egyptian, who brought hither a colony of Saites, about the year of the world 2448, before Christ 1556. The inhabitants of Attica were indeed a more ancient people than those of many other districts of Greece, which being of a more fertile soil, often changed their masters, while few were ambitious of settling in a barren country.

† Pelops was the son of Tantalus, and of Phrygian extraction. He carried with him immense riches into Peloponnesus, which he had dug out of the mines of mount Sypilus. By means of this wealth, he got the government of the most considerable towns for his sons, and married his daughters to princes.

The essence of the wisdom of those days consisted in such moral sentences as Hesiod * is celebrated for in his Book of works. One of these is ascribed to Pittheus:

> Blast not the hope which friendship has conceiv'd
> But fill its measure high.

This is confirmed by Aristotle: and Euripides, in saying that Hippolytus was taught by "the sage and venerable Pittheus," gives him a very honourable testimony.

Ægeus, wanting to have children, is said to have received from the Oracle at Delphi, that celebrated answer, which commanded him not to approach any woman before he returned to Athens. But as the Oracle seemed not to give him clear instruction, he came to Trœzene, and communicated it to Pittheus in the following terms.

> "The mystic vessel shall untouch'd remain,"
> Till in thy native realm——

It is uncertain what Pittheus saw in this Oracle. However, either by persuasion or deceit, he drew Ægeus into conversation with his daughter Æthra. Ægeus afterwards coming to know that she whom he had laid with was Pittheus's daughter, and suspecting her to be with child, hid a sword and a pair of sandals under a large stone, which had a cavity for the purpose. Before his departure, he told the secret to the princess only, and left orders, that if she brought forth a son, who, when he came to a man's estate, should be able to remove the stone, and take away the things left under it, she should send him with those tokens to him, with all imaginable privacy; for he was very much afraid that some plot would be formed against him by the Pallantidæ, who despised him for his want of children. These were fifty brothers, the sons of Pallas†.

* Hesiod flourished about 500 years after Pittheus. Solomon wrote his Moral Sentences two or three hundred years after Pittheus.

† Pallas was brother to Ægeus; and as Ægeus was supposed to have no children, the Pallantidæ considered the kingdom of Athens as their undoubted inheritance. It was natural, therefore, for Ægeus to conclude, that if they came to know he had a son, they would attempt to assassinate either him or his son.

Æthra was delivered of a son; and some say he was immediately named Theseus *, because of the laying up of the tokens; others, that he received his name afterwards at Athens, when Ægeus acknowledged him for his son. He was brought up by Pittheus, and had a tutor named Connidas, to whom the Athenians, even in our times, sacrifice a ram, on the day preceeding the Thesean Feasts, giving this honour to his memory upon a much juster account than that which they pay to Silanion and Parrhasius, who only made statues and pictures of Theseus.

As it was then the custom for such as had arrived at man's estate, to go to Delphi to offer the first-fruits of their hair to Apollo, Theseus went thither, and the place where this ceremony is performed, from him, is said to be yet called Thesea. He shaved, however, only the fore part of his head, as Homer tells us the Abantes did †; and this kind of tonsure, on his account, was called Theseis. The Abantes first cut their hair in this manner, not in imitation of the Arabians, as some imagine, nor yet of the Mysians, but because they were a warlike people, who loved close fighting, and were more expert in it than any other nation. Thus Archilocus ‡:

> These twang not bows, nor sling the hissing stone,
> When Mars exults, and fields with armies groan:
> Far nobler skill Eubœa's son's display,
> And with the thundering sword decide the fray.

That they might not, therefore, give advantage to their enemies by their hair, they took care to cut it off. And we are informed that Alexander of Macedon, having made the same observation, ordered his Macedonian troops to cut off their beards, these being a ready handle in battle.

* The Greeks, as well as the Hebrews, gave names both to persons and things from some event or circumstance attending that which they were to name. The Greek word *Thesis* signifies *laying up*, and *thesthai uion*, *to acknowledge*, or rather *to adopt a son*. Ægeus did both; the ceremony of adoption being necessary to enable Theseus, who was not a legitimate son, to inherit the crown.

† The Abantes were the inhabitants of Eubœa, but originally of Abae, a town in Thrace

‡ Archilochus was a Greek poet, who lived about the time of Romulus. Homer had given the same account of the Abantes above three hundred years before For, in the second book of the Iliad, he tells us, the Abantes pierced the breast-plates of their enemies with extended spears or pikes; that is to say, they fought hand to hand.

For some time Æthra declared not the real father of Theseus; but the report propagated by Pittheus was, that he was the son of Neptune: for the Trœzenians principally worship that god: he is the patron of their city; to him they offer their first-fruits; and their money bears the impression of a trident. Theseus, in his youth, discovering not only great strength of body, but firmness and solidity of mind, together with a large share of understanding and prudence, Æthra led him to the stone and having told him the truth concerning his origin, ordered him to take up his father's tokens, and sail to Athens. He easily removed the stone, but refused to go by sea, though he might have done it with great safety, and though he was prest to it by the entreaties of his grandfather and his mother; while it was hazardous, at that time, to go by land to Athens, because no part was free from the danger of ruffians and robbers. Those times, indeed, produced men of strong and indefatigable powers of body, of extraordinary swiftness and agility; but they applied those powers to nothing just or useful. On the contrary, their genius, their disposition, their pleasures tended only to insolence, to violence, and to rapine. As for modesty, justice, equity, and humanity, they looked upon them as qualities in which those who had it in their power to add to their possessions, had no manner of concern; virtues praised only by such as were afraid of being injured, and who abstained from injuring others out of the same principle of fear. Some of these ruffians were cut off by Hercules in his peregrinations, while others escaped to their lurking-holes, and were spared by the hero in contempt of their cowardice. But when Hercules had unfortunately killed Iphitus, he retired to Lydia, where, for a long time, he was a slave to Omphale,* a punishment which he imposed upon himself for the murder. The Lydians then enjoyed great quiet and security; but in Greece the same kind of enormities broke out anew, there being no one to restrain or quell them. It was therefore extremely dangerous to travel by land from Peloponnesus to Athens; and Pittheus, acquainting Theseus with the number of these ruffians, and with their

* Those who had been guility of murder became voluntary exiles, and imposed on themselves a certain penance, which they continued till they thought their crime expiated.

cruel treatment of strangers, advised him to go by sea. But he had long secretly been fired with the glory of Hercules, whom he held in the highest esteem, listening with great attention to such as related his achievements, particularly to those that had seen him, conversed with him, and had been witnesses to his prowess. He was affected in the same manner as Themistocles afterwards was, when he declared that the trophies of Miltiades would not suffer him to sleep. The virtues of Hercules were his dream by night, and by day emulation led him out, and spurred him on to perform some exploits like his. Besides, they were nearly related, being born of cousin-germans; for Æthra was the daughter of Pittheus and Alcmena of Lysidice, and Pittheus and Lysidice were brother and sister by Pelops and Hippodamia. He considered it, therefore, as an insupportable dishonour, that Hercules should traverse both sea and land to clear them of these villians, while he himself declined such adventures as occurred to him; disgracing his reputed father, if he took his voyage, or rather flight, by sea; and carrying to his real father a pair of sandals and a sword unstained with blood, instead of the ornament of great and good actions, to assert and add lustre to his noble birth. With such thoughts and resolutions as these he set forward, determined to injure no one, but to take vengeance of such as should offer him any violence.

He was first attacked by Periphetes, in Epidauria, whose weapon was a club, and who, on that account, was called Corynetes, or the Club-bearer. He engaged with him, and slew him. Delighted with the club, he took it for his weapon, and used it as Hercules did the lion's skin. The skin was a proof of the vast size of the wild beast which that hero had slain; and Theseus carried about with him this club, whose stroke he had been able to parry, but which, in his hand, was irresistible. In the Isthmus he slew Sinnis the pine-bender,* in the same manner as he had destroyed many others: and this he did, not as having learned or practised the bending of those trees, but to shew that natural strength is above all art. Sinnis had a daughter remarkable for her beauty and stature,

* Sinnis was so called from his bending the heads of two pines, and tying passengers between the opposite branches, which, by their sudden return, tore them to pieces.

named Perigune, who had concealed herself when her father was killed. Theseus made diligent search for her, and found, at last, that she had retired into a place overgrown with shrubs, and rushes, and wild asparagus. In her childish simplicity she addressed her prayers and vows to these plants and bushes, as if they could have a sense of her misfortune, promising, if they would save and hide her, that she would never burn or destroy them. But when Theseus pledged his honour for treating her politely, she came to him, and in due time brought him a son named Melanippus. Afterwards, by Theseus's permission, she married Deioneus, the son of Eurytus the Oechalian. Melanippus had a son named Ioxus, who joined with Ornytus in planting a colony in Caira: whence the Ioxides; with whom it is an inviolable rule, not to burn either rushes or wild asparagus, but to honour and worship them.

About this time Crommyon was infested by a wild sow named Phæa, a fierce and formidable creature. This savage he attacked and killed,* going out of his way to engage her, and thereby shewing an act of voluntary valour: for he believed it equally became a brave man to stand upon his defence against abandoned ruffians, and to seek out, and begin the combat with strong and savage animals. But some say, that Phæa was an abandoned female robber, who dwelt in Crommyon; that she had the name of sow from her life and manners; and was afterwards slain by Theseus.

In the borders of Megara he destroyed Sciron, a robber, by casting him headlong from a precipice, as the story generally goes: and it is added, that, in wanton villainy, this Sciron used to make strangers wash his feet, and to take those opportunities to push them into the sea. But the writers of Megara in contradiction to this report, and as Simonides expresses it, fighting with all antiquity, assert, that Sciron was neither a robber nor a ruffian, but, on the contrary, a destroyer of robbers, and a man whose heart and house were ever open to the good and the honest. For Æacus, say they, was looked upon as the justest man in Greece, Cychreus of Salamis had divine honours paid

* In this instance our hero deviated from the prineiple he set out upon, which was never to be the aggresor in any engagement. The wild sow was certainly no less respectable an animal than the pine-bender.

him at Athens, and the virtue of Peleus and Telamon too was universally known. Now Sciron was son-in-law to Cychreus, father-in-law to Æacus, and grandfather to Peleus and Telamon, who were both of them sons of Endeis, the daughter of Sciron and Chariclo: therefore it was not probable that the best of men should make such alliances with one of so vile a character, giving and receiving the greatest and dearest pledges. Besides, they tell us, that Theseus did not slay Sciron in his first journey to Athens, but afterwards, when he took Eleusis from the Megarensians, having expelled Diocles, its chief magistrate, by a stratagem. In such contradictions are these things involved.

At Eleusis he engaged in wrestling with Cercyon the Arcadian, and killed him on the spot. Proceeding to Hermione,* he put a period to the cruelties of Damastes, surnamed Procrustes, making his body fit the size of his own beds, as he had served strangers. These things he did in imitation of Hercules, who always returned upon the aggressors the same sort of treatment which they intended for him; for that hero sacrificed Busiris, killed Antæus in wrestling, Cygnus in single combat, and broke the skull of Termerus; whence this is called the Termerian mischief; for Termerus, it seems, destroyed the passengers he met by dashing his head against theirs. Thus Theseus pursued his travels to punish abandoned wretches who suffered the same kind of death from him that they inflicted on others, and were requited with vengeance suitable to their crimes.

In his progress he came to the Cephisus, where he was first saluted by some of the Phytalidæ.† Upon his desire to have the customary purifications, they gave him them in due form, and having offered propitiatory sacrifices, invited him to their houses. This was the first hospitable treatment he met with on the road. He is said

* This seems to be a mistake; for we know of no place called Harmoine, or Hermoine, between Eleusis and Athens. Pausanias calls it Erione; and the authors of the Universal History, after Philochorus, call it Termione.

† These were the descendants of Phytalus, with whom Ceres entrusted the superintendance of her holy mysteries, in recompence for the hospitality with which she had been treated at his house. Theseus thought himself unfit to be admitted to those mysteries without expiation, because he had dipped his hands in blood, though it was only that of thieves and robbers.

to have arrived at Athens on the eight day of the month Cronius, which now they call Hecatombœon [July.] There he found the state full of troubles and distraction, and the family of Ægeus in great disorder: for Medea, who had fled from Corinth, promised by her art to enable Ægeus to have children, and was admitted to his bed. She first discovering Theseus, whom as yet Ægeus did not know, persuaded him, now in years, and full of jealousies and suspicions, on account of the faction that prevailed in the city, to prepare an entertainment for him as a stranger, and take him off by poison. Theseus, coming to the banquet, did not intend to declare himself first, but, willing to give his father occasion to find him out, when the meat was served up, he drew his sword,* as if he designed to carve with it, and took care it should attract his notice. Ægeus quickly perceiving it, dashed down the cup of poison, and after some questions, embraced him as his son: then assembling the people, he acknowledged him also before them, who received him with great satisfaction on account of his valour. The cup is said to have fallen, and the poison to have been spilt, where the inclosure now is, in the place called Delphinium; for there it was that Ægeus dwelt; and the Mercury which stands on the east side of the temple, is yet called the Mercury of Ægeus's gate.

The Pallantidæ, who hoped to recover the kingdom, if Ægeus died childless, lost all patience when Theseus was declared his successor. Exasperated at the thought that Ægeus, who was not in the least allied to the Erecthidæ, but only adopted by Pandion,† should first gain the crown, and afterwards Theseus, who was an emigrant and a stranger, they prepared for war; and dividing their forces, one party marched openly, with their father, from Sphettus to the city; and the other, concealing themselves in Gargettus, lay in ambush, with a design to at-

* Some needless learning has been adduced to shew, that in the heroic times they carved with a cutlass or large knife, and not with a sword; and that consequently Plutarch here must certainly be mistaken; but as μαχαιρα signifies either a cutlass or a sword, how do we know that it was a sword, and not a cutlass, which Ægeus hid under the stone?

† It had not been actually reported, that Ægeus was not the son of Pandion, but of Scyrias.

tack the enemy from two several quarters. They had with them an herald named Leos, of the tribe of Agnus. This man carried to Theseus an account of all the designs of the Pallantidæ; and he immediately fell upon those that lay in ambush, and destroyed them. Pallas and his company being informed of this, thought fit to disperse. Hence it is said to be, that the tribe of Pallene never intermarry with the Agnusians, nor suffer any proclamation to begin with these words, *Akouete Leoi* [Hear, O ye people;] for they hate the very name of Leos, on account of the treachery of that herald.

Theseus, desirous to keep himself in action, and at the same time courting the favour of the people, went against the Marathonian bull, which did no small mischief to the inhabitants of Tetrapolis. When he had taken him, he brought him alive in triumph through the city, and afterwards sacrificed him to the Delphinian Apollo. Hecale also, and the story of her receiving and entertaining Theseus, does not appear destitute of all foundation; for the people in that neighbourhood assemble to perform the Hecalesian rites to Jupiter Hecalus: they honour Hecale too, calling her by the diminutive, Hecalene, because when she entertained Theseus, while he was but a youth, she caressed him as persons in years use to do children, and called him by such tender diminutive names. She vowed, moreover, when he went to battle, to offer sacrifices to Jupiter, if he returned safe; but as she died before the end of the expedition, Theseus performed those holy rites in testimony of the grateful sense he had of her hospitality. So Philochorus relates the story.*

Not long after, there came the third time, from Crete, the collectors of the tribute, exacted on the following occasion. Androgeus† being treacherously slain in Attica, a very fatal war was carried on against that country by Minos, and Divine Vengeance laid it waste; for it was visited by famine and pestilence, and want of water in-

* Philochorus was an Athenian historian, who flourished in the reign of Ptolomy Philopater, about two hundred years before the birth of our Saviour. He wrote many valuable pieces, of which nothing remains, but some fragments preserved by other writers.

† Some say Ægeus caused him to be murdered, because he was in the interest of the Pallantidæ; others, that he was killed by the Marathonian bull.

creased their misery. The remedy that Apollo proposed was, that they should appease Minos, and be reconciled to him, whereupon the wrath of Heaven would cease, and their calamities come to a period. In consequence of this, they sent ambassadors with their submission; and, as most writers agree, engaged themselves by treaty, to send every ninth year a tribute of seven young men and as many virgins. When these were brought into Crete, the fabulous account informs us, that they were destroyed by the Minotaur,* in the Labyrinth, or that, lost in its mazes, and unable to find the way out, they perished there. The Minotaur was, as Euripides tells us,

> A mingled form prodigious to behold,
> Half bull, half man!

But Philochorus says the Cretans deny this, and will not allow the labyrinth to have been any thing but a prison, which had no other inconvenience than this, that those who were confined there could not escape: And Minos having instituted games in honour of Androgeus, the prize for the victors was those youths, who had been kept till that time in the labyrinth. He that first won the prizes in those games, was a person of great authority in the court of Minos, and general of his armies, named Taurus, who being unmerciful and savage in his nature, had treated the Athenian youths with great insolence and cruelty. And it is plain that Aristotle himself, in his account of the Bottiæan Government, does not suppose that the young men were put to death by Minos, but that they lived, some of them to old age, in servile employments in Crete. He adds, that the Cretans, in pursuance of an ancient vow, once sent a number of their first-born to Delphi, among whom were some of the descendants of these Athenian slaves, who not being able to support themselves there, first passed from thence into Italy, where they settled about Japygia; and from thence they removed again into Thrace, and were called Bottiæans. Wherefore the Bottiæan virgins, in some solemnities of

* Feigned by the poets to have been begot by a bull upon Pasiphæ, Minos's queen, who was inspired, it seems, with this horrid passion by Neptune, in revenge for Minos's refusing him a beautiful bull, which he expected as an offering.

religion, sing, "*To Athens let us go.*" And, indeed, it seems dangerous to be at enmity with a city which is the seat of eloquence and learning: For Minos always was satirized on the Athenian stage; nor was his fame sufficiently rescued by Hesiod's calling him "Supreme of Kings," or Homer's saying that he "conversed with Jove;" for the writers of tragedy prevailing, represented him as a man of vicious character,* violent and implacable; yet, inconsistently enough, they say that Minos was a king and a lawgiver, and that Rhadamanthus was an upright judge, and guardian of the laws which Minos had made.

When the time of the third tribute came, and those parents who had sons not arrived at full maturity, were obliged to resign them to the lot, complaints against Ægeus sprung up again among the people, who expressed their grief and resentment, that he who was the cause of all their misfortunes bore no part of the punishment, and while he was adopting, and raising to the succession, a stranger of spurious birth, took no thought for them who lost their legitimate children. Those things were matter of great concern to Theseus, who, to express his regard for justice, and take his share in the common fortune, voluntarily offered himself as one of the seven, without lot. The citizens were charmed with this proof of his magnanimity and public spirit; and Ægeus himself, when he saw that no entreaties or persuasions availed to turn him from it, gave out the lots for the rest of the young men. But Hellancius says, that the youths and virgins which the city furnished were not chosen by lot, but that Minos came in person and selected them, and Theseus before the rest, upon these conditions: That the Athenians should furnish a vessel, and the young men embark and sail along with him, but carry no arms; and that if they could kill the Minotaur, there should be an end of the tribute. There appearing no hopes of safety for the youths in the two former tributes, they sent out a ship with the black sail, as carrying them to certain ruin.

* This is a mistake into which Plutarch and several other writers have fallen. There were two of the name of Minos. One was the son of Jupiter and Europa, and a just and excellent prince; the other, his grandson, and son of Lycaster, was a tyrant.

But when Theseus encouraged his father by his confidence of success against the Minotaur, he gave another sail, a white one, to the pilot, ordering him, if he brought Theseus safe back, to hoist the white; but if not, to sail with the black one in token of his misfortune. Simonides, however, tells us, that it was not a white sail which Ægeus gave, but a scarlet one dyed with the juice of the flower of a very flourishing holm-oak,* and that this was to be the signal that all was well. He adds, that Phereclus, the son of Amarsyas, was pilot of the ship: but Philochorus says, that Theseus had a pilot sent him by Sciras, from Salamis, named Nausitheus, and one Phæax to be at the prow, because as yet the Athenians had not applied themselves to navigation†; and that Sciras did this because one of the young men, named Menesthes, was his daughter's son. This is confirmed by the monuments of Nausitheus and Phæax, built by Theseus, at Phalerum, near the temple of Sciron; and the feast called Cybernesia, or the Pilot's Feast, is said to be kept in honour of them.

When the lots were cast, Theseus taking with him, out of the Prytaneum, those upon whom they fell, went to the Delphinian temple, and made an offering to Apollo for them. This offering was a branch of consecrated olive bound about with white wool. Having paid his devotions, he embarked on the sixth of April; at which time they still send the virgins to Delphinium to propitiate the god. It is reported that the oracle at Delphi commanded him to take Venus for his guide, and entreat her to be his companion in the voyage; and when he sacrificed to her a she-goat on the sea-shore, its sex was immediately changed: hence the goddess had the name of Epitragia.

When he arrived in Crete, according to most historians and poets, Ariadne, falling in love with him, gave him a

* It is not the flower, but the fruit of the Ilex, full of little worms which the Arabians call Kermes, from which a scarlet dye is procured.

† The Athenians, according to Homer, sent fifty ships to Troy; but those were only transport ships. Thucydides assures us, that they did not begin to make any figure at sea till ten or twelve years after the battle of Marathon, near seven hundred years after the siege of Troy.

clue of thread, and instructed him how to pass with it through the intricacies of the labyrinth. Thus assisted, he killed the Minotaur, and then set sail, carrying off Ariadne, together with the young men. Pherecydes says that Theseus broke up the keels of the Cretan ships, to prevent their pursuit. But, as Demon has it, he killed Taurus, Minos's commander, who engaged him in the harbour, just as he was ready to sail out. Again, according to Philochorus, when Minos celebrated the games in honour of his son, it was believed that Taurus would bear away the prizes in them as formerly, and every one grudged him that honour; for his excessive power and haughty behaviour were intolerable; and, besides, he was accused of too great a familiarity with Pasiphæ: therefore, when Theseus desired the combat, Minos permitted it. In Crete it was the custom for the women as well as the men to see the games; and Ariadne, being present, was struck with the person of Theseus, and with his superior vigour and address in the wrestling-ring. Minos too was greatly delighted, especially when he saw Taurus vanquished and disgraced; and this induced him to give up the young men to Theseus, and to remit the tribute. Clidemus beginning higher, gives a prolix account of these matters, according to his manner. There was, it seems, a decree throughout all Greece, that no vessel should sail with more than five hands, except the Argo commanded by Jason, who was appointed to clear the sea of pirates. But when Dædalus escaped by sea to Athens, Minos pursuing him with his men of war, contrary to the decree, was driven by a storm to Sicily, and there ended his life. And when Deucalion his successor, pursuing his father's quarrels with the Athenians, demanded that they should deliver up Dædalus, and threatened, if they did not, to make away with the hostages that Minos had received, Theseus gave him a mild answer, alleging that Dædalus was his relation, nearly allied in blood, being son to Merope the daughter of Erectheus. But privately he prepared a fleet, part of it among the Thymætadæ, at a distance from any public road, and part under the direction of Pittheus, at Trœzene. When it was ready, he set sail, taking Dædalus, and the rest of the fugitives from Crete, for his guide. The Cretans receiving no information of the matter, and when they saw his fleet, taking

them for friends, he easily gained the harbour, and making a descent, proceeded immediately to Gnossus. There he engaged with Deucalion and his guards, before the gates of the labyrinth, and slew them. The government by this means falling to Ariadne, he entered into an agreement with her, by which he received the young captives, and made a perpetual league between the Athenians and the Cretans, both sides swearing to proceed to hostilities no more.

There are many other reports about these things, and as many concerning Ariadne, but none of any certainty. For some say, that being deserted by Theseus, she hanged herself; others, that she was carried by the mariners to Naxos, and there married Onarus the priest of Bacchus, Theseus having left her for another mistress:

For Ægle's charms had pierc'd the hero's heart,

Whereas the Megarensian tells us, that Pisistratus struck the line out of Hesiod; and as, on the contrary, to gratify the Athenians, he added this other to Homer's description of the state of the dead:

The godlike Theseus and the great Pirithous.

Some say Ariadne had two sons by Theseus, Oenopion and Staphylus. With these agrees Ion of Chios, who says of his native city, that it was built by Oenopion the son of Theseus.

But the most striking passages of the poets, relative to these things, are in every body's mouth. Something more particular is delivered by Pæon the Amathusian. He relates, that Theseus, being driven by a storm to Cyprus, and having with him Ariadne, who was big with child, and extremely discomposed with the agitation of the sea, he set her on shore, and left her alone, while he returned to take care of the ship; but by a violent wind was forced out again to sea: that the women of the country received Ariadne kindly, consoled her under her loss, and brought her feigned letters as from Theseus: that they attended and assisted her when she fell in labour; and, as she died in child-bed, paid her the funeral honours: that Theseus, on his return, greatly afflicted at the news, left money with the inhabitants ordering them to pay divine honours to Ariadne; and that he caused

two little statues of her to be made, one of silver, and the other of brass: that they celebrate her festival on the second of September, when a young man lies down, and imitates the cries and gesture of a woman in travail: and that the Amathusians call the grove in which they shew her tomb, the Grove of Venus Ariadne.

Some of the Naxian writers relate, that there were two Minos's, and two Ariadnes; one of which was married to Bacchus in Naxos, and had a son named Staphylus; the other, of a later age, being carried off by Theseus, and afterwards deserted, came to Naxos, with her nurse Corcyne, whose tomb is still shewn. That this Ariadne died there, and had different honours paid her from the former; for the feasts of one were celebrated with mirth and revels, while the sacrifices of the other were mixed with sorrow and mourning*.

Theseus, in his retun from Crete, put in at Delos †; and having sacrificed to Apollo, and dedicated a statue of Venus which he received from Ariadne, he joined with the young men in a dance, which the Delians are said to practise at this day. It consists in an imitation of the mazes and outlets of the labyrinth, and, with various involutions and evolutions, is performed in regular time. This kind of dance, as Dicæarchus informs us, is called by the Delians the Crane‡ He danced it round the altar Keraton, which was built entirely of the left-side horns of beasts. He is also said to have instituted games in Delos, where he began the custom of giving a palm to the victors.

When they drew near to Attica, both Theseus and the pilot were so transported with joy, that they forgot to hoist the sail which was to be the signal to Ægeus of their safety, who, therefore, in despair, threw himself from the rock and was dashed to pieces. Theseus disembarked, and performed those sacrifices to the gods which he

* The Feasts of Ariadne, the wife of Bacchus, were celebrated with joy, to denote that she was become a divinity; those of the other Ariadne signified that she fell like a mere mortal.

† Hence came the custom of sending annually a deputation from Athens to Delos, to sacrifice to Apollo.

‡ This dance, Callimachus tells us, was a particular one; and probably it was called the Crane, because cranes commonly fly in the figure of a circle.

had vowed at Phalerum, when he set sail, and sent a herald to the city, with an account of his safe return. The messenger met with numbers lamenting the fate of the king, and others rejoicing, as it was natural to expect, at the return of Theseus, welcoming him with the greatest kindness, and ready to crown him with flowers for his good news. He received the chaplets, and twined them round his herald's staff. Returning to the sea-shore, and finding that Theseus had not yet finished his libations, he stopped without, not choosing to disturb the sacrifice. When the libations were over, he announced the death of Ægeus. Upon this, they hastend, with sorrow and tumultuous lamentations, to the city. Hence, they tell us, it is, that, in the Oschophoria, or Feast of Boughs, to this day the herald is not crowned, but his staff; and those that are present at the libations cry out, *Eleleu ! Jou, jou !** The former is the exclamation of haste and triumph, and the latter of trouble and confusion. Theseus, having buried his father, paid his vows to Apollo on the seventh of October : for on that day they arrived safe at Athens. The boiling of all sorts of pulse at that time is said to take its rise from their mixing the remains of their provisions, when they found themselves safe ashore, boiling them in one pot, and feasting upon them all together. In that feast they also carry a branch bound about with wool, such as they then made use of in their supplications, which they call Eiresione, laden with all sorts of fruits ; and to signify the ceasing of scarcity at that time, they sing this strain :

The golden ear, th' ambrosial hive,
In fair Eiresione thrive.
See the juicy figs appear !
Olives crown the weal hy year !
See the cluster-bending vine !
See, and drink, and drop supine !

Some pretend that this ceremony is retained in memory of the Heraclidæ,† who were entertained in that manner by the Athenians ; but the greater part relate it as above delivered.

* *Eleleu* denotes the joy and precipitation with which Theseus marched towards Athens ; and *Jou, jou*, his sorrow for the death of his father.

† The descendants of Hercules, being driven out of Peloponnesus and all Greece, applied to the Athenians for their protection,

The vessel in which Theseus sailed, and returned safe, with those young men, went with thirty oars. It was preserved by the Athenians to the times of Demetrius Phalereus ;* being so pieced and new framed with strong plank, that it afforded an example to the philosophers, in their disputations concerning the identity of things that are changed by growth, some contending that it was the same, and others that it was not.

The feast called Oschophoria,† which the Athenians still celebrate, was then first instituted by Theseus. For he did not take with him all the virgins upon whom the lot had fallen, but selected two young men of his acquaintance who had feminine and florid aspects, but were not wanting in spirit and presence of mind. These, by warm bathing, and keeping them out of the sun, by providing unguents for their hair and complexions, and every thing necessary for their dress, by forming their voice, their manner, and their step, he so effectually altered, that they passed among the virgins designed for Crete, and no one could discern the difference.

At his return, he walked in procession with the same young men, drest in the manner of those who now carry the branches. These are carried in honour of Bacchus and Ariadne, on account of the story before related ; or rather because they returned at the time of gathering ripe fruits. The Deipnophoræ, women who carry the provi-

which was granted : and as they went as suppliants, they went with branches in their hands. This subject is treated by Euripides in his Heraclidæ

* That is near 1000 years. For Theseus returned from Crete about the year before Christ 1235, and Callimachus, who was cotemporary with Demetrius, and who tells us the Athenians continued to send this ship to Delos in his time, flourished about the year before Christ 280.

† This ceremony was performed in the following manner : They made choice of a certain number of youths of the most noble families in each tribe, whose fathers and mothers both were living. They bore vine-branches in their hands, with grapes upon them, and ran from the temple of Bacchus to that of Minerva Sciradia, which was near the Phalerean gate. He that arrived there first drank off a cup of wine, mingled with honey, cheese, meal, and oil. They were followed by a chorus conducted by two young men dressed in women's apparel, the chorus singing a song in praise of those young men. Certain women, with baskets on their heads, attended them, and were chosen for that office from among the most wealthy of the citizens. The whole procession was headed by a herald, bearing a staff encircled with boughs.

sions, bear a part in the solemnity, and have a share in the sacrifice, to represent the mothers of those upon whom the lots fell, who brought their children provisions for the voyage. Fables and tales are the chief discourse, because the women then told their children stories to comfort them and keep up their spirits. These particulars are taken from the history of Demon. There was a place consecrated, and a temple erected to Theseus; and those families which would have been liable to the tribute, in case it had continued, were obliged to pay a tax to the temple for sacrifices. These were committed to the care of the Phytalidæ, Theseus doing them that honour in recompence of their hospitality.

After the death of Ægeus, he undertook and effected a prodigious work. He settled all the inhabitants of Attica in Athens, and made them one people in one city, who before were scattered up and down, and could with difficulty be assembled on any pressing occasion for the public good. Nay, often such differences had happened between them, as ended in bloodshed. The method he took was to apply to them in particular by their tribes and families. Private persons and the poor easily listened to his summons. To the rich and great he represented the advantage of a government without a king, where the chief power should be in the people, while he himself only desired to command in war, and to be the guardian of the laws; in all the rest, every one would be upon an equal footing. Part of them hearkened to his persuasions; and others, fearing his power, which was already very great, as well as his enterprising spirit, chose rather to be persuaded, than to be forced to submit. Dissolving, therefore, the corporations, the councils, and courts in each particular town, he built one common Prytaneum and court-hall, where it stands to this day. The citadel, with its dependencies, and the city, or the old and new town, he united under the common name of Athens, and instituted the Panathenæa as a common sacrifice.* He ap-

* The Athenæa were celebrated before, in honour of the Goddess Minerva; but as that was a feast peculiar to the city of Athens, Theseus enlarged it, and made it common to all the inhabitants of Attica; and therefore it was called Panathenæa. There were the greater and the less Panathenæa. The less were kept annually, and the greater every fifth year. In the latter they carried in procession the mysterious *peplum* or veil of Minerva, on which were embroider-

pointed also the Metoecia, or Feast of Migration,* and fixed it to the sixteenth of July, and so it still continues. Giving up the kingly power, as he had promised, he settled the commonwealth under the auspices of the gods; for he consulted the oracle at Delphi concerning his new government, and received this answer:

> From royal stems thy honour, Theseus, springs;
> By Jove beloved, the sire supreme of kings.
> See rising towns see wide-extended states,
> On thee dependent, ask their future fates!
> Hence, hence with fear! Thy favoured bark shall ride
> Safe o'er the surges of the foamy tide.†

With this agrees the Sibyl's prophecy, which, we are told, she delivered long after, concerning Athens:

> The bladder may be dipp'd, but never drown'd.

Desiring yet farther to enlarge the city, he invited all strangers to equal privileges in it; and the words still in use, "Come hither, all ye people," are said to be the beginning of a proclamation, which Theseus ordered to be made when he composed a commonwealth, as it were, of all nations. Yet he left it not in the confusion and disorder likely to ensue from the confluence and strange mixture of people, but distinguished them into noblemen, husbandmen, and mechanics. The nobility were to have the care of religion, to supply the city with magistrates, to explain the laws, and to interpret whatever related to the worship of the gods. As to the rest, he balanced the citizens against each other as nearly as possible; the nobles excelling in dignity, the husbandmen in usefulness, and the artificers in number. It appears from Aristotle, that Theseus was the first who inclined to a democracy,

ed the victory of the gods over the giants, and the most remarkable achievements of their heroes.

* In memory of their quitting the boroughs, and uniting in one city. On this occasion, he likewise instituted, or at least restored, the famous Isthmian games, in honour of Neptune. All these were chiefly designed to draw a concourse of strangers; and as a farther encouragement for them to come and settle in Athens, he gave them the privileges of natives.

† In the original it is, "Safe, like a bladder, &c." When Sylla had taken Athens, and exercised all manner of cruelties there, some Athenians went to Delphi, to inquire of the oracle, Whether the last hour of their city was come? and the priestess, according to Pausanias, made answer, τα εις τον ασκον εληλυθα, *That which belongs to the bladder* now has an end, plainly referring to the old prophecy here delivered.

and gave up the regal power ; and Homer also seems to bear witness to the same in his catalogue of ships, where he gives the name of People to the Athenians only. To his money he gave the impression of an ox, either on account of the Marathonian bull, or because of Minos's general Taurus, or because he would encourage the citizens in agriculture. Hence came the expression of a thing being worth ten or an hundred oxen. Having also made a secure acquisition of the country about Megara to the territory of Athens, he set up the famed pillar in the Isthmus,* and inscribed it with two verses to distinguish the boundaries. That on the east side ran thus;

This is not Peloponnesus, but Ionia:

and that on the west was,

This is Peloponnesus, not Ionia.

He likewise instituted games in imitation of Hercules, being ambitious that as the Greeks, in pursuance of that hero's appointment, celebrated the Olympic games in honour of Jupiter, so they should celebrate the Isthmian in honour of Neptune : for the rites performed there before in memory of Melicertes, were observed in the night, and had more the air of mysteries, than of a public spectacle and assembly. But some say the Isthmian games were dedicated to Scirion, Theseus inclining to expiate his untimely fate, by reason of their being so nearly related; for Scirion was the son of Canethus and Henioche, the daughter of Pittheus. Others will have it, that Sinnis was their son, and that to him, and not to Sciron, the games were dedicated. He made an agreement too with the Corinthians, that they should give the place of honour to the Athenians who came to the Isthmian games, as far as the ground could be covered with the sail of the public ship that brought them, when stretched to its full extent. This particular we learn from Hellanicus and Andron of Halicarnassus.

Philochorus and some others relate, that he sailed, in company with Hercules, into the Euxine sea, to carry on

* This pillar was erected by the common consent of the Ionians and Peloponnesians, to put an end to the disputes about their boundaries; and it continued to the reign of Codrus, during which it was demolished by the Heraclidæ, who had made themselves masters of the territory of Megara, which thereby passed from the Ionians to the Dorians. *Strabo*, lib. ix.

war with the Amazons *, and that he received Antiope † as the reward of his valour: but the greater number, among whom are Pherecydes, Hellanicus, and Herodorus, tell us, that Theseus made that voyage, with his own fleet only, some time after Hercules, and took that Amazon captive, which is indeed the more probable account; for we do not read that any other of his fellow-warriors made any Amazon prisoner. But Bion says, he took and carried her off by a stratagem. The Amazons, being naturally lovers of men, were so far from avoiding Theseus, when he touched upon their coasts, that they sent him presents. Theseus invited Antiope, who brought them into his ship, and as soon as she was aboard, set sail. But the account of one Menecrates, who published a History of Nice, in Bithynia, is, that, Theseus, having Antiope aboard his vessel, remained in those parts some time; and that he was attended in that expedition by three young men of Athens, who were brothers, Eunos, Thoas, and Soloon. The last of these, unknown to the rest, fell in love with Antiope, and communicated his passion to one of his companions, who applied to Antiope about the affair. She firmly rejected his pretensions, but treated him with civility, and prudently concealed the matter from Theseus. But Soloon, in despair, having leaped into a river, and drowned himself, Theseus, then sensible of the cause, and the young man's passion, lamented his fate, and, in his sorrow, recollected an oracle which he had formerly received at Delphi. The priestess had ordered, that when, in some foreign country he should labour under the greatest affliction, he should build a city there, and leave some of his followers to govern it. Hence he called the city which he built Pythopolis, after the Pythian God, and the neighbouring river Soloon, in honour of the young man. He left the two surviving brothers to govern it, and give it laws; and along with them Hermus, who was of one of the best families in Athens. From him the inhabitants of Pythopolis call a certain place in their city Hermes's

* Nothing can be more fabulous than the whole history of the Amazons. Strabo observes, that the most credible of Alexander's historians have not so much as mentioned them; and indeed, if they were a Scyth an nation, how came they all to have Greek names?

† Justin says Hercules gave Hippolyte to Theseus, and kept Antiope for himself.

House, [*Hermou oikia*], and by misplacing an accent, transfer the honour from the hero to the God Mercury.

Hence the war with the Amazons took its rise. And it appears to have been no slight or womanish enterprize; for they could not have encamped in the town, or joined battle on the ground about the Pynx * and the Museum †, or fallen in so intrepid a manner upon the city of Athens, unless they had first reduced the country about it. It is difficult, indeed, to believe (though Hellanicus has related it) that they crossed the Cimmerian Bosphorus upon the ice: but that they encamped almost in the heart of the city is confirmed by the names of places, and by the tombs of those that fell.

There was a long pause and delay before either army would begin the attack. At last, Theseus, by the direction of some oracle, offered a sacrifice to Fear ‡, and after that immediately engaged. The battle was fought in the month Boedromion, [September] the day on which the Athenians still celebrate the feast called Boedromia. Clidemus, who is willing to be very particular, writes, that the left wing of the Amazons moved towards what is now called the Amozonium; and that the right extended as far as the Pynx, near Chrysa: That the Athenians first engaged with the left wing of the Amazons, falling upon them from the Museum; and that the tombs of those who fell in the battle are in the street which leads to the gate called Piraica, which is by the monument erected in honour of Chalcodon, where the Athenians were routed by the Amazons, and fled as far as the Temple of the Furies: but that the left wing of the Athenians, which charged from the Palladium, Ardettus, and Lyceum, drove the right wing of the enemy to their camp, and slew many of them: That after four months, a peace was concluded by means of Hippolyte; for so this author calls the Amazon that attended with Theseus, not Antiope. But some say this heroine fell fighting by Theseus's side, being pierced with a dart by Molpadia,

* The Pynx was a place (near the citadel) where the people of Athens used to assemble, and where the orators spoke to them about public affairs.

† The Museum was upon a little hill over-against the citadel, and probably so called from a temple of the Muses there.

‡ The heathens considered not only the passions, but even distempers, storms, and tempests, as divinities, and worshipped them that they might do them no harm.

and that a pillar, by the Temple of the Olympian earth *, was set up over her grave. Nor is it to be wondered, that, in the account of things so very ancient, history should be thus uncertain, since they tell us that some Amazons, wounded by Antiope, were privately sent to Chalcis to be cured, and that some were buried there, at a place now called Amazonium. But that the war was ended by a league, we may assuredly gather from a place called Horcomosium, near the temple of Theseus, where it was sworn to, as well as from an ancient sacrifice, which is offered to the Amazons the day before the feast of Theseus. The people of Megara too shew a place, in the figure of a lozenge, where some Amazons were buried, as you go from the market-place to the place called Rhus. Others also are said to have died by Chæronea, and to have been buried by the rivulet, which, it seems, was formerly called Thermodon, but now Hæmon; of which I have given a farther account in the Life of Demosthenes. It appears likewise, that the Amazons traversed Thessaly, not without opposition; for their sepulchres are shewn to this day, between Scotussæa and Cynoscephalæ.

This is all that is memorable in the story of the Amazons: for as to what the author of the Theseid relates of the Amazons rising to take vengeance for Antiope, when Theseus quitted her, and married Phædra, and of their being slain by Hercules, it has plainly the air of fable. Indeed he married Phædra after the death of Antiope, having by the Amazon a son named Hippolytus †,

* By this is meant the moon, so called (as Plutarch supposes in his Treatise on the cessation of Oracles) because like the Genii or Demons, she is neither so perfect as the gods, nor so imperfect as human kind But as some of the philosophers, we mean the Pythagoreans, had astronomy enough afterwards to conclude that the sun is the centre of this system, we presume it might occur to thinking men in the more early ages, that the moon was an opaque, and, therefore, probably a terrene body

† Theseus had a son, by the Amazonian queen, named Hippolytus, having soon after married Phædra, the sister of Deucalion, the son and successor of Minos, by whom he had two sons; he sent Hippolytus to be brought up by his own mother Æthra, queen of Trœzene: but he coming afterwards to be present at some Athenian games, Phædra fell in love with him, and having solicited him in vain to a compliance, in a fit of resentment, accused him to Theseus of having made an attempt upon her chastity. The fable says, that Theseus prayed to Neptune to punish him by some violent

or, according to Pindar, Demophon. As to the calamities which befel Phædra and Hyppolytus, since the historians do not differ from what the writers of tragedy have said of them, we may look upon them as matters of fact.

Some other marriages of Theseus are spoken of, but have not been represented on the stage, which had neither an honourable beginning, nor a happy conclusion. He is said also to have forcibly carried off Anaxo of Trœzene, and having slain Sinnis and Cercyon, to have committed rapes upon their daughters : to have married Peribœa, the mother of Ajax, too, and Pherobœa, and Iope the daughter of Iphicles. Besides they charge him with being enamoured of Ægle, the daughter of Panopeus, (as above related) and, for her, leaving Ariadne, contrary to the rules both of justice and honour ; but above all, with the rape of Helen, which involved Attica in war, and ended in his banishment and death, of which we shall speak more at large by and by.

Though there were many expeditions undertaken by the heroes of those times, Herodorus thinks that Theseus was not concerned in any of them, except in assisting the Lapithæ against the Centaurs. Others write, that he attended Jason to Colchos, and Meleager in killing the boar, and that hence came the proverb, "Nothing without Theseus." It is allowed, however, that Theseus, without any assistance, did himself perform many great exploits ; and that the extraordinary instances of his valour gave occasion to the saying, "This man is another Hercules." Theseus was likewise assisting to Adrastus, in recovering the bodies of those that fell before Thebes, not by defeating the Thebans in battle, as Euripides has it in his tragedy, but by persuading them to a truce ; for so most writers agree : and Philochorus is of opinion that this was the first truce ever known for burying the dead. But Hercules was, indeed, the first who gave up their dead to the enemy, as we have shewn in his life.

death ; and all solemn execrations, according to the notions of the heathens, certainly taking effect, Hippolytus was riding along the sea-shore, Neptune sent two sea-calves, who frightened the horses, overturned the chariot, and tore him to pieces. The poets add, that the lustful queen hanged herself for grief; but as for Hippolytus, Diana being taken with his chastity, and pitying the sad fate it had brought upon him, prevailed upon Æsculapius to restore him to life, to be a companion of her diversions.

The burying-place of the common soldiers is to be seen at Eleutheræ, and of the officers at Eleusis; in which particular Theseus gratified Adrastus. Æschylus, in whose tragedy of the Eleusinians, Theseus is introduced relating the matter as above, contradicts what Euripides has delivered in his Suppliants.

The friendship between Theseus and Pirithous is said to have commenced on this occasion. Theseus being much celebrated for his strength and valour, Pirithous was desirous to prove it, and therefore drove away his oxen from Marathon. When he heard that Theseus pursued him in arms, he did not fly, but turned back to meet him. But, as soon as they beheld one another, each was so struck with admiration of the other's person and courage, that they laid aside all thoughts of fighting; and Pirithous first giving Theseus his hand, bade him be judge in this cause himself, and he would willingly abide by his sentence. Theseus, in his turn, left the cause to him, and desired him to be his friend and fellow-warrior. Then they confirmed their friendship with an oath. Pirithous afterwards marrying Deidamia,* intreated Theseus to visit his country, and to become acquainted with the Lapithæ.† He had also invited the Centaurs to the entertainment. These, in their cups behaving with insolence and indecency, and not even refraining from the women, the Lapithæ rose up in their defence, killed some of the Centaurs upon the spot, and soon after beating them in a set battle, drove them out of the country with the assistance of Theseus. Herodorus relates the matter differently. He says, that hostilities being already begun, Theseus came in aid to the Lapithæ, and then had the first sight of Hercules, having made it his business to find him out at Trachin, where he reposed himself after all his wanderings and labours; and that this interview passed in marks of great respect, civility, and mutual compliments. But we are rather to follow those historians who write, that they had very frequent interviews; and that by means of Theseus, Hercules was initiated into

* All other writers call her Hippodamia, except Propertius, who calls her Ischomacha. She was the daughter of Adrastus.

† Homer calls the Lapithæ heroes. The Centaurs are feigned to have been half man half horse, either from their brutality, or because (if not the inventors of horsemanship, yet) they generally appeared on horseback.

the mysteries of Ceres, having first obtained lustration, as he desired, on account of several involuntary pollutions.

Theseus was now fifty years old, according to Hellanicus, when he was concerned in the rape of * Helen, who had not yet arrived at years of maturity. Some writers, thinking this one of the heaviest charges against him, endeavour to correct it, by saying that it was not Theseus that carried off Helen, but Idas and Lynceus, who committed her to his care, and that therefore he refused to give her up, when demanded by Castor and Pollux; or rather that she was delivered to him by Tyndarus himself, to keep her from Enarsphorus, the son of Hippocoon, who endeavoured to possess himself by violence of Helen, that was yet but a child. But what authors generally agree in, as most probable is as follows: The two friends went together to Sparta, and having seen the girl dancing in the temple of Diana Orthia, carried her off, and fled. The pursuers that were sent after them following no farther than Tegea, they thought themselves secure; and having traversed Peloponnesus, they entered into an agreement, that he who should gain Helen by lot should have her to wife, but be obliged to assist in procuring a wife for the other. In consequence of these terms, the lots being cast, she fell to Theseus, who received the virgin, and conveyed her, as she was not yet marriageable, to Aphidnæ. Here he placed his mother with her, and committed them to the care of his friend Aphidnus, charging him to keep them in the utmost secrecy and safety; whilst, to pay his debt of service to Pirithous, himself travelled with him into Epirus, with a view to the daughter of Aidoneus, king of the Molossians. This prince named his wife Proserpine,† his daughter Core, and his dog Cerberus: with this dog he commanded all his daughters suitors to fight, promising her to him that

* This princess was the reputed daughter of Jupiter, by Leda the wife of Tyndarus, king of Oebalia, in Peloponnesus; and tho' then but nine years old, was reckoned the greatest beauty in the world.

† Proserpine and Core was the same person, daughter to Aidoneus, whose wife was named Ceres, Plutarch himself tells us so in his Morals, where he adds, that by Proserpine is meant the moon, whom Pluto, or the God of Darkness, sometimes carries off. Indeed, *Core* signifies nothing more than *young woman* or *daughter*; and they might say a *daughter of* Epirus, as we say a *daughter of* France, or *of* Spain.

should overcome him. But understanding that Pirithous came not with an intention to court his daughter, but to carry her off by force, he seized both him and his friend, destroyed Pirithous immediately by means of his dog, and shut up Theseus in close prison.

Mean time Menestheus, the son of Peteus, grandson of Orneus, and great-grandson of Erectheus, is said to be the first of mankind that undertook to be a demagogue, and by his eloquence to ingratiate himself with the people. He endeavoured also to exasperate and inspire the nobility with sedition, who had but ill born with Theseus for some time, reflecting that he had deprived every person of family of his government and command, and shut them up together in one city, where he used them as his subjects and slaves. Among the common people he sowed disturbance by telling them, that though they pleased themselves with the dream of liberty, in fact they were robbed of their country and religion; and, instead of many good and native kings, were lorded over by one man, who was a new-comer and a stranger. Whilst he was thus busily employed, the war declared by the Tyndaridæ greatly helped forward the sedition. Some say plainly, they were invited by Menestheus to invade the country. At first they proceeded not in a hostile manner, only demanding their sister: but the Athenians answering, that they neither had her among them, nor knew where she was left, they began their warlike operations. Academus, however, finding it out by some means or other, told them she was concealed at Aphidnæ. Hence, not only the Tyndaridæ treated him honourably in his life-time, but the Lacedemonians, who, in after times, often made inroads into Attica, and laid waste all the country besides, spared the academy for his sake. But Dicæarchus says, that Echedemus and Marathus, two Arcadians being allies to the Tyndaridæ in that war, the place which now goes by the name of the Academy, was first called Echedemy, from one of them; and that from the other the district of Marathon had its name, because he freely offered himself, in pursuance of some oracle, to be sacrificed at the head of the army. To Aphidnæ then they came, where they beat the enemy in a set battle, and then took the city, and razed it to the ground. There, they tell us, Alycus, the son of Sciron, was slain, fighting for Castor and Pollux; and that a certain place, within the territories

of Megara, is called Alycus, from his being buried there: and Hereas writes, that Alycus received his death from Theseus's own hand. These verses also are alleged as a proof in point:

> For bright-hair'd Helen he was slain
> By Theseus, on Aphidna's plain.

But it is not probable that Aphidnæ would have been taken and his mother made prisoner, had Theseus been present.

Aphidnæ, however, was taken, and Athens in danger. Menestheus took this opportunity to persuade the people to admit the Tyndaridæ into the city, and to treat them hospitably, since they only levied war against Theseus, who began with violence first, but that they were benefactors and deliverers to the rest of the Athenians. Their behaviour also confirmed what was said; for, though conquerors, they desired nothing but to be admitted to the mysteries, to which they had no less claim than Hercules,* since they were equally allied to the city. This request was easily granted them, and they were adopted by Aphidnus, as Hercules was by Pylius. They had also divine honours paid them, with the title of Anakes, which was given them, either on account of the truce [*anoche*] which they made, or because of their great care that no one should be injured, though there were so many troops in the city; for the phrase *anakos echein* signifies to keep or take care of any thing; and for this reason, perhaps, kings are called Anaktes. Some again say, they were called Anakes, because of the appearance of their stars; for the Athenians use the words *anekas* and *anekathen*, instead of *ano* and *anothen*, that is, *above* or *on high*.

We are told that Æthra, the mother of Theseus, who was now a prisoner, was carried to Lacedæmon, and from thence, with Helen, to Troy; and that Homer confirms it when, speaking of those that waited upon Helen, he mentions

> ——————The beauteous Clymene,
> And Æthra born of Pittheus.

* For Castor and Pollux, like him, were sons of Jupiter, from whom the Athenians too pretended to derive their origin. It was necessary, however, that they should be naturalized before they were admitted to the mysteries, and accordingly they were naturalized by adoption.

Others reject this verse as none of Homer's as they do also that story of Munychus, who is said to have been the fruit of a secret commerce between Demophoon and Laodice, and brought up by Æthra at Troy. But Ister, in the thirteenth book of the history of Attica gives an account of Æthra different from all the rest. He was informed it seems, that after the battle in which Alexander or Paris was routed by Achilles and Patroclus, in Thessaly near the river Sperchius, Hector took and plundered the city of Trœzene, and carried off Æthra, who had been left there. But this is highly improbable.

It happened that Hercules, in passing through the country of the Molossians, was entertained by Aidoneus the king, who accidentally made mention of the bold attempts of Theseus and Pirithous, and of the manner in which he had punished them when discovered. Hercules was much disturbed to hear of the inglorious death of the one, and the danger of the other. As to Pirithous, he thought it in vain to expostulate about him; but he begged to have Theseus released, and Aidoneus granted it. Theseus, thus set at liberty, returned to Athens, where his party was not yet entirely suppressed: and whatever temples and groves the city had assigned him, he consecrated them all, but four, to Hercules, and called them (as Philochorus relates) instead of Thesea, Heraclea. But desiring to preside in the commonwealth, and direct it as before, he found himself encompassed with faction and sedition; for those that were his enemies before his departure, had now added to their hatred a contempt of his authority; and he beheld the people so generally corrupted, that they wanted to be flattered into their duty, instead of silently executing his commands. When he attempted to reduce them by force, he was overpowered by the prevalence of faction; and, in the end, finding his affairs desperate, he privately sent his children into Eubœa, to Elephenor, the son of Chalcodon; and himself, having uttered solemn execrations against the Athenians at Gargettus, where there is still a place thence called Araterion, sailed to Scyros.* He imagined that there he should find hospitable treatment, as he had a paternal estate in that island. Lycomedes was then king

* The ungrateful Athenians were in process of time made so sensible of the effects of his curse, that, to appease his ghost, they appointed solemn sacrifices and divine honours to be paid to him.

of the Scyrians. To him, therefore, he applied, and desired to be put in possession of his lands, as intending to settle there. Some say, he asked assistance of him against the Athenians. But Lycomedes, either jealous of the glory of Theseus, or willing to oblige Menestheus, having led him to the highest cliffs of the country, on pretence of shewing him from thence his lands, threw him down headlong from the rocks, and killed him. Others say he fell of himself, missing his step, when he took a walk, according to his custom, after supper. At that time his death was disregarded, and Menestheus quietly possessed the kingdom of Athens, while the sons of Theseus attended Elephenor, as private persons to the Trojan war. But Menestheus dying in the same expedition, they returned and recovered the kingdom. In succeeding ages the Athenians honoured Theseus as a demi-god, induced to it as well by other reasons, as because, when they were fighting the Medes at Marathon, a considerable part of the army thought they saw the apparition of Theseus completely armed, and bearing down before them upon the barbarians.

After the Median war, when Phædon was archon,* the Athenians consulting the oracle of Apollo were ordered by the priestess to take up the bones of Theseus, and lay them in an honourable place at Athens, where they were

* Codrus, the seventeenth king of Athens, cotemporary with Saul, devoted himself to death for the sake of his country, in the year before Christ 1068; having learnt that the oracle had promised its enemies, the Dorians and the Heraclidæ, victory, if they did not kill the king of the Athenians. His subjects, on this account, conceived such veneration for him, that they esteemed none worthy to bear the royal title after him, and therefore committed the management of the state to elective magistrates, to whom they gave the title of archons, and chose Medon, the eldest son of Codrus, to this new dignity. Thus ended the legal succession and title of kings of Athens, after it had continued, without any interruption, 487 years, from Cecrops to Codrus. The archon acted with sovereign authority, but was accountable to the people whenever it was required. There were thirteen perpetual archons in the space of 325 years. After the death of Alcmæon, who was the last of them, this charge was continued to the person elected for ten years only; but always in the same family, till the death of Eryxias, or according to others, of Tlesias, the seventh and last decennial archon. For the family of Codrus, or of the Medontidæ, ending in him, the Athenians created annual archons, and, instead of one, they appointed nine every year. See a further account of the archons in the Notes on the Life of Solon.

to be kept with the greatest care. But it was difficult to take them up, or even to find out the grave, on account of the savage and inhospitable disposition of the barbarians who dwelt in Scyros. Nevertheless, Cimon having taken the island (as is related in his life) and being very desirous to find out the place where Theseus was buried, by chance saw an eagle, on a certain eminence, breaking the ground (as they tell us) and scratching it up with her talons. This he considered as a divine direction, and, digging there, found the coffin of a man of extraordinary size, with a lance of brass and a sword lying by it. When these remains were brought to Athens in Cimon's galley, the Athenians received them with splendid processions and sacrifices, and were as much transported as if Theseus himself had returned to the city. He lies interred in the middle of the town, near the Gymnasium: and his oratory is a place of refuge for servants and all persons of mean condition, who fly from men in power, as Theseus, while he lived, was a humane and benevolent patron, who graciously received the petitions of the poor. The chief sacrifice is offered to him on the eighth of October, the day on which he returned with the young men from Crete. They sacrifice to him likewise on each eighth day of the other months, either because he first arrived from Trœzene on the eighth of July, as Diodorus the geographer relates; or else thinking this number, above all others, to be most proper to him, because he was said to be the son of Neptune; the solemn feasts of Neptune being observed on the eighth day of every month. For the number eight, as the first cube of an even number, and the double of the first square, properly represents the firmness and immoveable power of this god, who thence has the names of Asphalius and Gaieochus.

ROMULUS.

FROM whom, and for what cause, the city of Rome obtained that name, whose glory has diffused itself over the world, historians are not agreed.* Some say the Pelasgi, after they had over-run great part of the globe, and conquered many nations, settled there, and gave their city the name of Rome,† on account of their strength in war. Others tell us, that when Troy was taken, some of the Trojans having escaped and gained their ships, put to sea, and being driven by the winds upon the coasts of Tuscany, came to an anchor in the river Tiber: that here, their wives being much fatigued, and no longer able to bear the hardships of the sea, one of them superior to the rest in birth and prudence, named Roma, proposed that they should burn the fleet: that this being effected, the men at first were much exasperated, but afterwards, through necessity, fixed their seat on the Palatine hill, and in a short time things succeeded beyond their expectation; for the country was good,‡ and the people hospitable: that therefore, besides other honours paid to Roma, they called their city, as she was the cause of its

* Such is the uncertainty of the origin of imperial Rome, and indeed of most cities and nations, that are of any considerable antiquity. That of Rome might be the more uncertain, because its first inhabitants being a collection of mean persons, fugitives, and outlaws, from other nations, could not be supposed to leave histories behind them. Livy, however, and most of the Latin historians, agree that Rome was built by Romulus, and both the city and people named after him; while the vanity of the Greek writers wants to ascribe almost every thing, and Rome among the rest, to a Grecian original.

† Ρωμη, *Romo*, signifies *strength*.

‡ Whatever desirable things nature has scattered frugally in other countries were formerly found in Italy, as in their original seminary. But there has been so little encouragement given to the cultivation of the soil in the time of the pontiffs, that it is now comparatively barren.

being built, after her name. Hence too, we are informed, the custom arose for the women to salute their relations and husbands with a kiss, because those women, when they had burnt the ships, used such kind of endearments to appease the resentment of their husbands.

Among the various accounts of historians, it is said that Roma was the daughter of Italus and Leucaria; or else the daughter of Telephus the son of Hercules, and married to Æneas; or that she was the daughter of Ascanius*, the son of Æneas; and gave name to the city; or that Romanus, the son of Ulysses and Circe, built it; or Romus, the son of Æmathion, whom Diomedes sent from Troy; or else Romus, king of the Latins, after he had expelled the Tuscans, who passed originally from Thessaly into Lydia, and from Lydia into Italy. Even they who, with the greatest probability, declare that the city had its name from Romulus, do not agree about his extraction: for some say he was son of Æneas and Dexithea, the daughter of Phorbus, and was brought an infant into Italy with his brother Remus: that all the other vessels were lost by the violence of the flood, except that in which the children were, which driving gently ashore where the bank was level, they were saved beyond expectation, and the place from thence was called Rome. Some will have it, that Roma, daughter of that Trojan woman who was married to Latinus, the son of Telemachus, was mother to Romulus. Others say that Æmelia the daughter of Æneas and Lavinia, had him by Mars: and others again give an account of his birth, which is entirely fabulous. There appeared, it seems to Tarchetius king of the Albans who was the most wicked and most cruel of men, a supernatural vision in his own house, the figure of Priapus rising out of the chimney-hearth, and staying there many days. The goddess Tethys had an oracle in Tuscany,† which being consulted, gave this answer to Tarchetius, That it was necessary some virgin should accept of the embraces of the phantom, the fruit whereof would be a son, eminent

* Ὀι δ' Ασκανιȣ τȣ Αινειȣ [θυγατερα sc.] λεγȣσι τȣομα θεσθαι τη πογει. The former English translation and the French in this place are erroneous.

† There was no oracle of Tethys, but of Themis there was. Themis was the same with Carmenta, the mother of Evander, which last name she had, because she delivered her oracles *in carmine* in verses.

for valour, good fortune, and strength of body. Hereupon Tarchetius acquainted one of his daughters with the prediction, and ordered her to entertain the apparition; but she declining it, sent her maid. When Tarchetius came to know it, he was highly offended, and confined them both, intending to put them to death. But Vesta appeared to him in a dream, and forbad him to kill them; but ordered that the young women should weave a certain web in their fetters, and when that was done be given in marriage. They weaved, therefore, in the day-time; but others, by Tarchetius's order, unravelled it in the night. The woman having twins by this commerce, Tarchetius delivered them to one Teratius, with orders to destroy them. But, instead of that, he exposed them by a river-side, where a she-wolf came and gave them suck, and various sorts of birds brought food and fed the infants, till at last a herdsman, who beheld these wonderful things, ventured to approach and take up the children. Thus secured from danger, they grew up, and then attacked Tarchetius, and overcame him. This is the account Promathion gives in his History of Italy.

But the principal parts of that account, which deserves the most credit, and has the most vouchers, were first published among the Greeks by Diocles the Peparethian, whom Fabius Pictor commonly follows; and though there are different relations of the matter, yet, to dispatch it in a few words, the story is this: the kings of Alba * descending lineally from Æneas, the succession fell to two brothers, Numitor and Amulius. The latter divided the whole inheritance into two parts, setting the treasures brought from Troy against the kingdom; and Numitor made choice of the kingdom. Amulius then having the treasures, and consequently being more powerful than Numitor, easily possessed himself of the kingdom too; and fearing the daughter of Numitor might have children, he appointed her priestess of Vesta, in which capacity she was always to live unmarried, and a virgin. Some say her

* From Æneas down to Numitor and Amulius, there were thirteen kings of the same race, but we scarce know any thing of them, except their names, and the years of their respective reigns. Amulius, the last of them, who surpassed his brother in courage and understanding, drove him from the throne, and, to secure it for himself, murdered Ægestus, Numitor's only son, and consecrated his daughter Rhea Sylvia to the worship of Vesta.

name was Ilia, some Rhea, and others Sylvia. But she was soon discovered to be with child, contrary to the law of the vestals. Antho, the king's daughter, by much entreaty, prevailed with her father that she should not be capitally punished. She was confined, however, and excluded from society, lest she should be delivered without Amulius's knowledge. When her time was completed, she was delivered of two sons of uncommon size and beauty; whereupon Amulius, still more alarmed, ordered one of his servants to destroy them. Some say the name of this servant was Faustulus: others, that, that was the name of a person that took them up. Pursuant to his orders, he put the children into a small trough or cradle, and went down towards the river, with a design to cast them in; but seeing it very rough, and running with a strong current, he was afraid to approach it. He therefore laid them down near the bank, and departed. The flood increasing continually set the trough afloat, and carried it gently down to a pleasant place now called Cermanum, but formerly (as it should seem) Germanum, denoting that the brothers arrived there.

Near this place was a wild fig-tree, which they called Ruminalis, either on account of Romulus, as is generally supposed, or because the cattle there ruminated, or chewed the cud, during the noon-tide, in the shade; or rather because of the suckling of the children there; for the ancient Latins called the breast *ruma*; and the goddess who presides over the nursery Rumilia*, whose rites they celebrate without wine, and only with libations of milk. The infants, as the story goes, lying there, were suckled by a she-wolf, and fed and taken care of by a woodpecker. These animals are sacred to Mars; and the woodpecker is held in great honour and veneration by the Latins. Such wonderful events contributed not a little to gain credit to the mother's report, that she had the children by Mars; though in this they tell us she was herself deceived, having suffered violence from Amulius, who came to her, and lay with her in armour. Some say, the ambiguity of the nurse's name gave occasion to the fable; for the Latins call not only she-wolves but prostitutes *lupæ*; and such was Acca Larentia, the wife of Faustulus, the foster-father of the children. To her al-

* The Romans called that goddess not Rumilia, but Rumina.

so the Romans offer sacrifice, and the priest of Mars honours her with libations in the month of April when they celebrate her feast Larentialia.

They worship also another Larentia on the following account. The keeper of the temple of Hercules, having, it seems, little else to do, proposed to play a game at dice with the god, on condition that, if he won, he should have something valuable of that deity; but if he lost, he should provide a noble entertainment for him, and a beautiful woman to lie with him. Then throwing the dice, first for the god, and next for himself, it appeared that he had lost. Willing, however, to stand to his bargain, and to perform the conditions agreed upon, he prepared a supper, and engaging for the purpose one Larentia, who was very handsome, but as yet little known he treated her in the temple, where he had provided a bed, and after supper, left her for the enjoyment of the god. It is said that the deity had some conversation with her, and ordered her to go early in the morning to the market-place, salute the first man she should meet, and make him her friend. The man that met her was one far advanced in years, and in opulent circumstances, Tarrutius by name, who had no children, and never had been married. This man took Larentia to his bed, and loved her so well, that at his death he left her heir to his whole estate, which was very considerable; and she afterwards bequeathed the the greatest part of it by will to the people. It is said, that at the time when she was in high reputation, and considered as the favourite of a god, she suddenly disappeared about the place where the former Larentia was laid. It was now called Velabrum, because the river often overflowing, they passed it at this place, in ferry-boats, to go to the Forum. This kind of passage they call *velatura*. Others derive the name from *velum*, a sail, because they who have the exhibiting of the public shews, beginning at Velabrum, overshade all the way from the Forum to the Hippodrome with canvas; for a sail in Latin is *velum*. On these accounts is the second Larentia so much honoured among the Romans.

In the mean time Faustulus, Amulius's herdsman, brought up the children entire undiscovered; or rather, as others with greater probability assert, Numitor knew

it from the first,* and privately supplied the necessaries for their maintenance. It is also said that they were sent to Gabii, and there instructed in letters, and other branches of education suitable to their birth : and history informs us, that they had the names of Romulus and Remus, from the teat of the wild animal which they were seen to suck. The beauty and dignity of their persons, even in their childhood, promised a generous disposition ; and as they grew up, they both discovered great courage and bravery, with an inclination to hazardous attempts, and a spirit which nothing could subdue. But Romulus seemed more to cultivate the powers of reason, and to excel in political knowledge ; whilst, by his deportment among his neighbours in the employments of pasturage and hunting, he convinced them that he was born to command rather than to obey. To their equals and inferiors they behaved very courteously ; but they despised the king's bailiffs and chief herdsmen, as not superior to themselves in courage, though they were in authority, disregarding at once their threats and their anger. They applied themselves to generous exercises and pursuits, looking upon idleness and inactivity as illiberal things, but on hunting, running, banishing or apprehending robbers, and delivering such as were oppressed by violence, as the employments of honour and virtue. By these things they gained great renown.

A dispute arising between the herdsmen of Numitor and Amulius, and the former having driven away some cattle belonging to the latter, Romulus and Remus fell upon them, put them to flight, and recovered the greatest part of the booty. At this conduct Numitor was highly offended ; but they little regarded his resentment. The first steps they took on this occasion, were to collect, and receive into their company, persons of desperate fortunes, and a great number of slaves ; a measure which gave alarming proofs of their bold and seditious inclinations. It happened that when Romulus was employed in sacrificing, for to that and divination he was much inclined, Numitor's herdsmen met with Remus, as he was walking

* Numitor might build upon this the hopes of his re-establishment ; but his knowing the place where the children were brought up, and supplying them with necessaries, is quite inconsistent with the manner of their discovery when grown up, which is the most agreeable part of the story.

with a small retinue, and fell upon him. After some blows exchanged, and wounds given and received, Numitor's people prevailed, and took Remus prisoner. He was carried before Numitor, and had several things laid to his charge; but Numitor did not choose to punish him himself, for fear of his brother's resentment. To him, therefore, he applied for justice, which he had all the reason in the world to expect; since, though brother to the reigning prince, he had been injured by his servants, who presumed upon his authority. The people of Alba, moreover, expressing their uneasiness, and thinking that Numitor suffered great indignities, Amulius moved with their complaints, delivered Remus to him to be treated as he should think proper. When the youth was conducted to his house, Numitor was greatly struck with his appearance, as he was very remarkable for size and strength; he observed, too, his presence of mind, and the steadiness of his looks, which had nothing servile in them, nor were altered with the sense of his present danger; and he was informed, that his actions and whole behaviour were suitable to what he saw. But above all, some divine influence, as it seems, directing the beginnings of the great events that were to follow, Numitor, by his sagacity, or by a fortunate conjecture, suspecting the truth, questioned him concerning the circumstances of his birth; speaking mildly at the same time, and regarding him with a gracious eye. He boldly answered, "I will hide nothing from you, for you behave in a more princely manner than Amulius, since you hear and examine before you punish: but he has delivered us up without inquiring into the matter. I have a twin-brother, and heretofore we believed ourselves the sons of Faustulus and Larentia, servants to the king. But since we were accused before you, and so pursued by slander as to be in danger of our lives, we hear nobler things concerning our birth. Whether they are true, the present crisis will shew.* Our birth is said to have been secret; our support in our infancy miraculous. We were exposed to birds and wild beasts, and by them nourished; suckled by a she-wolf, and fed by the attentions of a wood-pecker, as we lay in a trough by the great river. The trough is

* For if they were true, the god who miraculously protected them in their infancy, would deliver Remus from his present danger.

still preserved, bound about with brass bands, and inscribed with letters partly faded; which may prove, perhaps, hereafter very useless tokens to our parents, when we are destroyed." Numitor hearing this, and comparing the time with the young man's looks, was confirmed in the pleasing hope he had conceived, and considered how he might consult his daughter about this affair; for she was still kept in close custody.

Mean while Faustulus, having heard that Remus was taken and delivered up to punishment, desired Romulus to assist his brother, informing him then clearly of the particulars of his birth; for before he had only given dark hints about it, and signified just so much as might take off the attention of his wards from every thing that was mean. He himself took the trough, and in all the tumult of concern and fear carried it to Numitor. His disorder raised some suspicion in the king's guards at the gate, and that disorder increasing while they looked earnestly upon him, and perplexed him with their questions, he was discovered to have a trough under his cloak. There happened to be among them one of those who had it in charge to throw the children into the river, and who was concerned in the exposing of them. This man seeing the trough, and knowing it by its make and inscription, rightly guessed the business; and thinking it an affair not to be neglected, immediately acquainted the king with it, and put him upon inquiring into it. In these great and pressing difficulties, Faustulus did not preserve entirely his presence of mind, nor yet fully discover the matter. He acknowleged that the children were saved indeed, but said that they kept cattle at a great distance from Alba; and that he was carrying the trough to Ilia, who had often desired to see it, that she might entertain the better hopes that her children were alive. Whatever persons perplexed and actuated with fear or anger use to suffer, Amulius then suffered; for in his hurry he sent an honest man, a friend of Numitor's, to inquire of him whether he had any account that the children were alive. When the man was come, and saw Remus almost in the embraces of Numitor, he endeavoured to confirm him in the persuasion that the youth was really his grandson; begging him, at the same time, immediately to take the best measures that could be thought of, and offering his

best assistance to support their party: The occasion admitted of no delay, if they had been inclined to it; for Romulus was now at hand, and a good number of the citizens were gathered about him, either out of hatred or fear of Amulius. He brought also a considerable force with him, divided into companies of a hundred men each, headed by an officer who bore a handful of grass and shrubs upon a pole. These the Latins call *Manipuli*; and hence it is, that to this day soldiers of the same company are called Manipulares. Remus then, having gained those within, and Romulus assaulting the palace without, the tyrant knew not what to do, or whom he should consult, but amidst his doubts and perplexities, was taken and slain. These particulars, though mostly related by Fabius, and Diocles the Peparethian, who seems to have been the first that wrote about the founding of Rome, are yet suspected by some as fabulous and groundless. Perhaps, however, we should not be so incredulous, when we see what extraordinary events fortune produces; nor, when we consider what height of greatness Rome attained to, can we think that it could ever have been effected without some supernatural assistance at first, and an origin more than human.

Amulius being dead, and the troubles composed, the two brothers were not willing to live in Alba, without governing there; nor yet to take the government upon them during their grandfather's life. Having, therefore, invested him with it, and paid due honours to their mother, they determined to dwell in a city of their own, and, for that purpose, to build one in the place where they had their first nourishment. This seems, at least, to be the most plausible reason of their quitting Alba; and perhaps too it was necessary, as a great number of slaves and fugitives was collected about them, either to see their affairs entirely ruined, if these should disperse, or with them to seek another habitation; for the people of Alba refused to permit the fugitives to mix with them, or to receive them as citizens, sufficiently appears from the rape of the women, which was not undertaken out of a licentious humour, but deliberately, and through necessity, from the want of wives; since, after they seized them, they treated them very honourably.

As soon as the foundation of the city was laid, they opened a place of refuge for fugitives, which they called the temple of the Asylæan God.* Here they received all that came, and would neither deliver up the slave to his master, the debtor to his creditor, nor the murderer to the magistrate, declaring, that they were directed by the oracle of Apollo to preserve the asylum from all violation. Thus the city was soon peopled;† for it is said that the houses at first did not exceed a thousand. But of that hereafter.

While they were intent upon building, a dispute soon arose about the place. Romulus having built a square, which he called Rome, would have the city there; but Remus marked out a more secure situation on Mount Aventine, which, from him, was called Remonium,‡ but now has the name of Rignarium. The dispute was referred to the decision of augury; and for this purpose they sat down in the open air, when Remus, as they tell us, saw six vultures, and Romulus twice as many. Some say, Remus's account of the number he had seen was true, and that of Romulus not so; but when Remus came up to him, he did really see twelve. Hence the Romans, in their divination by the flight of birds, chiefly regard the vulture: though Herodorus of Pontus relates, that Hercules used to rejoice when a vulture appeared to him, as he was going upon any great action. This was, probably, because it is a creature the least mischievous of any, pernicious neither to corn, plants, nor cattle. It only

* It is not certain who this God of refuge was. Dionysius of Halicarnassus tells us, that, in his time, the place where the asylum had been, was consecrated to Jupiter. Romulus did not at first receive the fugitives and outlaws within the walls but allowed them the hill Saturnius, afterwards called Capitolinus, for their habitation.

† Most of the Trojans, of whom there still remained fifty families in Augustus's time, chose to follow the fortune of Romulus and Remus, as did also the inhabitants of Pallantium and Saturnia, two small towns.

‡ We find no mention either of Remonium or Rignarium in any other writer. An anonymous MS. reads Remoria: and Festus tells us (De Ling. Latin. lib. ii.) the summit of Mount Aventine was called Remuria, from the time Remus resolved to build the city there. But Dionysius of Halicarnassus speaks of Mount Aventine and Remuria as two different places; and Stephanus will have Remuria to have been a city in the neighbourhood of Rome.

feeds upon dead carcases ; but neither kills nor preys upon any thing that has life. As for birds, it does not touch them even when dead, because they are of its own nature ; while eagles, owls, and hawks, tear and kill their own kind ; and, as Æschylus has it,

What bird is clean that fellow-birds devours ?

Besides, other birds are frequently seen, and may be found at any time , but a vulture is an uncommon sight, and we have seldom met with any of their young ; so that the rarity of them has occasioned an absurd opinion in some, that they come to us from other countries ; and soothsayers judge every unusual appearance to be preternatural, and the effect of a divine power.

When Remus knew that he was imposed upon, he was highly incensed, and as Romulus was opening a ditch round the place where the walls were to be built, he ridiculed some parts of the work, and obstructed others. At last, as he presumed to leap over it, some say he fell by the hand of Romulus ;* others, by that of Celer, one of his companions. Faustulus also fell in the scuffle ; and Plistinus, who, being brother to Faustulus, is said to have assisted in bringing Romulus up. Celer fled into Tuscany ; and from him such as are swift of foot, or expeditious in business, are by the Romans called *celeres*. Thus when Quintus Metellus, within a few days after his father's death, provided a show of gladiators, the people admiring his quick dispatch, gave him the name of Celer.

Romulus buried his brother Remus, together with his foster-fathers, Remonia, and then built his city, having

* The two brothers first differed about the place where their new city was to be built, and referring the matter to their grandfather, he advised them to have it decided by augury. In this augury Romulus imposed upon Remus ; and when the former prevailed that the city should be built upon Mount Palatine, the builders being divided into two companies, were no better than two factions. At last Remus in contempt leapt over the work, and said, "Just so will the enemy leap over it :" whereupon Celer gave him a deadly blow, and answered, "In this manner will our citizens repulse the enemy." Some say, that Romulus was so afflicted at the death of his brother, that he would have laid violent hands upon himself, if he had not been prevented.

sent for persons from Hetruria,* who, (as is usual in sacred mysteries) according to stated ceremonies and written rules, were to order and direct how every thing was to be done. First, a circular ditch was dug about what is now called the Comitum, or Hall of Justice, and the first fruits of every thing that is reckoned either good by use, or necessary by nature, were cast into it; and then each bringing a small quantity of the earth of the country from whence he came, threw it in promiscuously.† This ditch had the name of Mundus, the same with that of the universe. In the next place, they marked out the city, like a circle round this centre; and the founder having fitted to a plough a brazen plough-share, and yoked a bull and cow, himself drew a deep furrow round the boundaries. The business of those that followed was to turn all the clods raised by the plough inwards to the city, and not to suffer any to remain outwards. This line described the compass of the city; and between it and the walls is a space called by contraction, Pomerium, as lying behind or beyond the wall. Where they designed to have a gate, they took the plough-share out of the ground, and lifted up the plough, making a break for it. Hence they look upon the whole wall as sacred, except the gate-ways. If they considered the gates in the same light as the rest, it would be deemed unlawful either to receive the necessaries of life by them, or to carry out what is unclean.

They day on which they began to build the city, is universally allowed to be the twenty-first of April; and is celebrated annually by the Romans as the birth-day of Rome. At first, we are told, they sacrificed nothing

* The Hetrurians or Tuscans had, as Festus informs us, a sort of ritual, wherein were contained the ceremonies that were to be observed in building cities, temples, al ars, walls, and gates. They were instructed in augury and religious rites by Tages, who is said to have been taught by Mercury.

† Ovid does not say it was a handful of the earth each had brought out of his own country, but of the earth he had taken from his neighbours; which was done to signify, that Rome would soon subdue the neighbouring nations. But Isidorus (lib. xxv. cap. 2.) is of opinion, that by throwing the first-fruits and an handful of earth into the trench, they admonished the heads of the colony, that it ought to be their chief study to procure their fellow-citizens all the conveniences of life, to maintain peace and union amongst a people come together from different parts of the world, and by this to form themselves into a body never to be dissolved.

that had life, persuaded that they ought to keep the solemnity sacred to the birth of their country pure, and without bloodshed. Nevertheless, before the city was built, on that same day, they had kept a pastoral feast called Palilia.* At present, indeed, there is very little analogy between the Roman and the Grecian months ; yet the day on which Romulus founded the city, is strongly affirmed to be the thirtieth of the month. On that day too, we are informed, there was a conjunction of the sun and moon, attended with an eclipse, the same that was observed by Antimachus the Teian poet, in the third year of the sixth Olympiad.

Varro the philosopher, who of all the Romans was most skilled in history, had an acquaintance named Tarutius, who, beside his knowledge in philosophy and the mathematics, to indulge his speculative turn, had applied himself to astrology, and was thought to be a perfect master of it. To him Varro proposed to find out the day and hour of Romulus's birth, making his calculation from the known events of his life, as problems in geometry are solved by the analytic method ; for it belongs to the same science, when a man's nativity is given, to predict his life, and when his life is given, to find out his nativity. Tarutius complied with the request ; and when he had considered the disposition and actions of Romulus, how long he lived, and in what manner he died, and had put all these things together, he affirmed, without doubt or hesitation, that his conception was in the first year of the second Olympiad, on the twenty-third day of the month which the Egyptians call Choeac [December] at the third hour, when the sun was totally eclipsed ;† and that his birth was on the twenty-third day of the month Thoth

* The Palilia, or Feast of Pales, is sometimes called Parilia, from the Latin word, *parere, to bring forth*, because prayers were then made for the fruitfulness of the sheep. According to Ovid (Fast. lib. iv.) the shepherds then made a great feast at night, and concluded the whole with dancing over the fires they had made in the fields with heaps of straw.

† There was no total eclipse of the sun in the first year of the second Olympiad, but in the second year of that Olympiad there was. If Romulus was conceived in the year last mentioned, it will agree with the common opinion, that he was 18 years old when he founded Rome, and that Rome was founded in the first year of the seventh Olympiad.

[September] about sun-rise; and that he founded Rome on the ninth of the month Pharmuthi [April] between the second and third hour;* for it is supposed that the fortunes of cities, as well as men, have their proper periods determined by the positions of the stars at the time of their nativity. These, and the like relations, may, perhaps, rather please the reader, because they are curious, than disgust him, because they are fabulous.

When the city was built, Romulus divided the younger part of the inhabitants into battalions. Each corps consisted of three thousand foot, and three hundred horse, and was called a legion, because the most warlike persons were selected.† The rest of the multitude he called The People. An hundred of the most considerable citizens he took for his council, with the title of Patricians,‡ and the whole body was called the senate, which signifies an Assembly of Old Men. Its members were styled Patricians; because, as some say, they were *fathers* of free-born children; or rather, according to others, because they themselves had fathers to shew, which was not the case with many of the rabble that first flocked to the city.

* There is great disagreement among historians and chronologers, as to the year of the foundation of Rome. Varro places it in the third year of the sixth Olympiad, 752 years before the Christian Æra; and Fabius Pictor, who is the most ancient of all the Roman writers, and followed by the learned Usher, places it in the end of the seventh Olympiad, which, according to that prelate, was in the year of the world 3256, and 748 before Christ. But Dionysius Halicarnassus, Solinus, and Eusebius place it in the first year of the seventh Olympiad.

† Instead of this, Dionysius of Halicarnassus tells us (lib. ii. p. 76.) the whole colony consisted of but 3300 men. These Romulus divided into three equal parts, which he called tribes or thirds, each of which was to be commanded by its præfect or tribune. The tribes were divided into ten curiæ, and these subdivided into ten decuriæ. The number of houses, or rather huts, which was but a thousand, bears witness to the truth of Dionysius's assertion. But it is probable the mean rabble, who took the protection of the asylum, and who might be very numerous, were not reckoned among the 3300 first colonists, though they were afterwards admitted to the privileges of citizens.

‡ The choice of these hundred persons was not made by the king himself: each tribe chose three senators, and each of the thirty curiæ the like number, which made in all the number of ninety-nine, so that Romulus named only the hundredth, who was the head, or prince of the senate, and the chief governor of the city, when the king was in the field.

Others derive the title from *Patrocinium*, or Patronage, attributing the origin of the term to one Patron, who came over with Evander, and was remarkable for his humanity and care of the distressed. But we shall be nearer the truth, if we conclude that Romulus styled them Patricians, as expecting these respectable persons would watch over those in humble stations with a paternal care and regard; and teaching the commonalty in their turn not to fear or envy the power of their superiors, but to behave to them with love and respect, both looking upon them as fathers, and honouring them with that name. For at this very time, foreign nations call the Senators Lords, but the Romans themselves call them Conscript Fathers, a style of greater dignity and honour, and withal much less invidious. At first, indeed, they were called Fathers only; but afterwards, when more were enrolled in their body, Conscript Fathers. With this venerable title, then, he distinguished the senate from the people. He likewise made another distinction between the nobility and the commons, calling the former Patrons,* and the others Clients; which was the source of mutual kindness and many good offices between them. For the Patrons were to those they had taken under their protection, counsellors and advocates in their suits at law, and advisers and assistants on all occasions. On the other hand, the Clients failed not in their attentions, whether they were to be shewn in deference and respect, or in providing their daughters portions, or in satisfying their creditors, if their circumstances happened to be narrow. No law or magistrate obliged the Patron to be evidence against his Client, or the Client against his Patron. But in after times, though the other claims continued in full force, it was

* This patronage was as effectual as any consanguinity or alliance, and had a wonderful effect towards maintaining union among the people, for the space of six hundred and twenty years, during which time we find no dissensions or jealousies between the patrons and their clients, even in the time of the republic, when the populace frequently mutinied against those who were most powerful in the city. At last the great sedition, raised by Caius Gracchus, broke in upon that harmony. Indeed, a client who was wanting in his duty to his patron, was deemed a traitor and an outlaw, and liable to be put to death by any person whatever. It may be proper to observe, that not only plebeans chose their patrons, but in time cities and states put themselves under the like protection.

looked upon as ungenerous for persons of condition to take money of those below them.

In the fourth month after the building of the city, * as Fabius informs us, the rape of the Sabine women was put in execution. Some say, Romulus himself who was naturally warlike, and persuaded by certain oracles, that the Fates had decreed Rome to obtain her greatness by military atchievements, began hostilities against the Sabines, and seized only thirty virgins, being more desirous of war, than of wives for his people. But this is not likely. For, as he saw his city soon filled with inhabitants, very few of which were married, the greatest part consisting of a mixed rabble of mean and obscure persons, to whom no regard was paid, and who were not expecting to settle in any place whatever, the enterprize naturally took that turn; and he hoped that from this attempt, though not a just one, some alliance and union with the Sabines would be obtained, when it appeared that they treated the women kindly. In order to this, he first gave out that he had found the altar of some god, which had been covered with earth. This deity they called Consus, meaning either the God of Counsel, (for with them the word *consilium* has that signification, and their chief magistrates afterwards were Consuls, persons who were to *consult the public good*) or else the Equestrian Neptune; for the altar in the Circus Maximus † is not visible at other times, but during the Circensian games it is uncovered. Some say, it was proper that the altar of that god should be under ground, because counsel should be as private and secret as possible. Upon this discovery, Romulus by proclamation appointed a day for a splendid sacrifice, with public games and shows. Multitudes assembled at the time, and he himself presided, sitting among his nobles, clothed in purple. As a signal for the asault, he was to rise gather up his robe, and fold it about him. Many of his people wore swords that day, and kept their eyes upon him, watching for the signal, which was no sooner given than they drew them, and rushing on with a shout, seized the daughters of the Sabines, but quietly suffered the men to escape.

* Gellius says, it was in the fourth year.

† That is to say, in the place where Ancus Martius afterwards built the great Circus for horses and chariot-races.

Some say only thirty were carried off, who each gave name to a tribe; but Valerius Antias makes their number five hundred and twenty-seven; and, according to Juba, * there were six hundred and eighty-three, all virgins. This was the best apology for Romulus; for they had taken but one married woman, named Hersilia, who was afterwards chiefly concerned in reconciling them; and her they took by mistake, as they were not incited to this violence by lust or injustice, but by their desire to conciliate and unite the two nations in the strongest ties. Some tell us Hersilia was married to Hostilius one of the most eminent among the Romans; others, that Romulus himself married her, and had two children by her; a daughter named Prima, on account of her being first-born, and an only son, whom he called Aollius, because of the great concourse of people to him, but after-ages, Abilius. This account we have from Zenodotus of Trœzene, but he is contradicted in it by many other historians.

Among those that committed this rape, we are told, some of the meaner sort happened to be carrying off a virgin of uncommon beauty and stature; and when some of superior rank that met them attempted to take her from them, they cried out, they were conducting her to Talasius, a young man of excellent character. When they heard this, they applauded their design; and some even turned back and accompanied them with the utmost satisfaction, all the way exclaiming Talasius. Hence this became a term in the nuptial songs of the Romans, as Hymenæus is in those of the Greeks; for Talasius is said to have been very happy in marriage. But Sextius Sylla, the Carthaginian, a man beloved both by the Muses and Graces, told me that this was the word which Romulus gave as a signal for the rape. All of them, therefore as they were carrying of the virgins, cried out Talasius; and thence it still continues the custom at marriages. Most writers, however, and Juba in Particular, are of opinion, that it is only an incitement to good housewif'ry and spinning, which the word *Talasia* signifies; Italian terms being at that time thus mixed with

* This was the son of Juba, king of Mauritania, who being brought very young a captive to Rome, was instructed in the Roman and Grecian literature, and became an excellent historian. Dionysius of Halicarnassus has followed his account.

Greek.* If this be right, and the Romans did then use the word *Talasia* in the same sense with the Greeks, another and more probable reason of the custom may be assigned. For when the Sabines, after the war with the Romans, were reconciled, conditions were obtained for

* The original, which runs thus, Οι δε πλειστοι νομιζουσιν, ων και ὁ Ιοβας ησι, παρακλησιν ειναι εις φιλεργιαν και ταλασιαν, ωπω τοτε τοις Ελληνικοις ονομασι των Ιταλικων επικεχυμενων, is manifestly corrupted; and all the former translations, following corrupt reading, assert what is utterly false, namely "that no Greek terms were then mixed with the language of Italy." The contrary appears from Plutarch's life of Numa, were Greek terms are mentioned as frequently used by the Romans, των Ἑλληνικων ονοματων τοτε μαλλον η νυν τοις Λατινοις ανακεκερασμενων.

But not to have recourse to facts, let us inquire into the several former translations. The Latin runs thus: *Plerique* (*inter quos est Juba*) *adhortationem et incitationem ad laboris sedulitatem et lanificium, quod Graeci ταλασιαν dicunt. censent, nondum id temporis Italicis verbis cum Graecis confusis.* The English thus: "But most are of opinion, and Juba in particular, that this word *Talasius* was used to new married women, by way of incitement to good housewifery; for the Greek word *Talasia* signifies *spinning*, and the language of Italy was not yet mixed with the Greek." The French of Dacier thus: Cependant la plupart des auteurs croient, et Juba est meme de cette opinion, que ce mot n'etoit qu'une exhortation qu'on faisoit aux mariees d'aimer le travail, qui consiste a filer de la laine, que les Grecs appellent *Talasia;* car en ce tems-la langue Grecque n'avoit pas encore é é corrumpue par les mots Latins." Thus they declare with the Greek; though it appears from what was said immediately before, that *Talasia*, a Greek term, was made use of in that language. Instead, therefore, of ωπο, *not yet*, we should most certainly read ωτο, thus; ωτο τοτε τοις Ελληνικοις ονομασι των Ιταλικων επικεχυμενων, "the language of Italy being at that time "thus mixed with Greek terms; for instance, *Talasi*." By this emendation, which consists only of the small alteration of the π into τ, the sense is easy; the context clear; Plutarch is reconciled to himself, and freed from the charge of contradicting in one breath, what he had asserted in another.

If this wanted any farther support, we might alledge a passage from Plutarch's Marcellus, which, as well as that in the life of Numa, is express and decisive. Speaking there of the derivation of the word *Feretrius*, an appellation which Jupiter probably first had in the time of Romulus, on occasion of his consecrating to him the *spolia opima:* one account he gives of the matter, is that *Feretrius* might be derived from φερετρον, the vehicle on which the trophy was carried, κατα την Ἑλληνιδα γλωσσαν ετι πολλην τοτε συμμεμιγμενην τη Λατινων; "for at that time the Greek language was much mixt "with the Latin."

the women, that they should not be obliged by their husbands to do any other work beside spinning. It was customary, therefore, ever after, that they who gave the bride, or conducted her home, or were present on the occasion, should cry out, amidst the mirth of the wedding, *Talasius*; intimating that she was not to be employed in any labour but that of spinning. And it is a custom still observed, for the bride not to go over the threshold of her husband's house herself, but to be carried over, because the Sabine virgins did not go in voluntarily, but were carried in by violence. Some add, that the bride's hair is parted with the point of a spear, in memory of the first marriages being brought about in a warlike manner; of which we have spoken more fully in the Book of Questions. This rape was committed on the eighteenth day of the month then called Sextilis, now August, at which time the feast of the Consualia is kept.

The Sabians were a numerous and warlike people, but they dwelt in unwalled towns: thinking it became them, who were a colony of the Lacedæmonians, to be bold and fearless. But as they saw themselves bound by such pledges, and were very solicitous for their daughters, they sent ambassadors to Romulus with moderate and equitable demands: That he should return them the young women, and disavow the violence, and then the two nations should proceed to establish a correspondence, and contract alliances in a friendly and legal way. Romulus, however, refused to part with the young women, and intreated the Sabines to give their sanction to what had been done; whereupon some of them lost time in consulting, and making preparations. But Acron, king of the Ceninensians, a man of spirit, and an able general, suspected the tendency of Romulus's first enterprizes; and, when he had behaved so boldly in the rape, looked upon him as one that would grow formidable, and indeed insufferable to his neighbours, except he were chastised. Acron therefore, went to seek the enemy, and Romulus prepared to receive him. When they came in sight, and had well viewed each other, a challenge for single combat was mutually given, their forces standing under arms in silence. Romulus on this occasion made a vow, that if he conquered his enemy, he would himself dedicate his adversary's arms to Jupiter: in consequence of which, he both overcame Acron, and, after battle was joined,

routed his army, and took his city. But he did no injury to its inhabitants, unless it were such to order them to demolish their houses, and follow him to Rome, as citizens entitled to equal privileges with the rest. Indeed, there was nothing that contributed more to the greatness of Rome, than that she was always uniting and incorporating with herself those whom she conquered. Romulus having considered how he should perform his vow in the most acceptable manner to Jupiter, and withal make the procession most agreeable to his people, cut down a great oak that grew in the camp, and hewed it into the figure of a trophy; to this he fastened Acron's whole suit of armour disposed in its proper form. Then he put on his own robes, and wearing a crown of laurel on his head, his hair gracefully flowing, he took the trophy erect upon his right shoulder, and so marched on, singing the song of victory before his troops, which followed, completely armed, while the citizens received him with joy and admiration. This procession was the origin and model of future triumphs. The trophy was dedicated to Jupiter Feretrius, so called from the Latin word *ferire**, to smite; for Romulus had prayed that he might have power to smite his adversary and kill him. Varro says, this sort of spoils is termed *opima*†, from *opes*, which signifies riches: But more properly they are so styled from *opus*, the meaning of which is action. For when the general of an army kills the enemy's general with his own hand, then only he is allowed to consecrate the spoils called *opima*, as the sole performer of that action.‡ This hohour has been conferred only on three Roman chiefs;

* Or from the word *ferre*, to *carry*, because Romulus had himself carried to the temple of Jupiter, the armour of the king he had killed; or, more probably, from the Greek word *pheretron*, which Livy calls in Latin *ferculum*, and which properly signifies a *trophy*.

† Festus derives the word *opima* from *ops*, which signifies the earth, and the riches it produces; so that *opima spolia*, according to that writer, signifies rich spoils.

‡ This is Livy's account of the matter; but Varro, as quoted by Festus, tells us, a Roman might be entitled to the *spolia opima*, though but a private soldier, *minis monipularis* provided he killed and despoiled the enemy's general. Accordingly Cornelius Cossus had them, for killing Tolumnius, king of the Tuscans, though Cossus was but a tribune, who fought under the command of Æmilius. Cossus, therefore, in all probability, did not enter Rome in a triumphal chariot, but followed that of his general, with the trophy on his shoulder.

first, on Romulus, when he slew Acron the Ceninensian; next, on Cornelius Cossus, for killing Tolumnius the Tuscan; and lastly, on Claudius Marcellus, when Viridomarus, king of the Gauls, fell by his hand. Cossus and Marcellus bore, indeed, the trophies themselves, but drove into Rome in triumphal chariots. But Dionysius is mistaken in saying that Romulus made use of a chariot; for some historians assert, that Tarquinius, the son of Demaratus, was the first of the kings that advanced triumphs to this pomp and grandeur: Others say, Publicola was the first that led up his triumph in a chariot. However, there are statues of Romulus bearing these trophies, yet to be seen in Rome, which are all on foot.

After the defeat of the Ceninenses, while the rest of the Sabines were busied in preparations, the people of Fidenæ, Crustumenium, and Antemnæ, united against the Romans. A battle ensued in which they were likewise defeated, and surrendered to Romulus their cities to be spoiled, their lands to be divided, and themselves to be transplanted to Rome. All the lands thus acquired, he distributed among the citizens, except what belonged to the parents of the stolen virgins; for those he left in the possesion of their former owners. The rest of the Sabines, enraged at this, appointed Tatius their general, and carried war to the gates of Rome. The city was difficult of access, having a strong garrison on the hill where the Capitol now stands, commanded by Tarpeius, not by the virgin Tarpeia, as some say, who in this represent Romulus as a very weak man. However, this Tarpeia, the governor's daughter, charmed with the golden bracelets of the Sabines, betrayed the fort into their hands, and asked, in return for her treason, what they wore on their left arms. Tatius agreeing to the condition, she opened one of the gates by night, and let in the Sabines. It seems, it was not the sentiment of Antigonus alone, who said, "He loved men while they "were betraying, but hated them when they had be-"trayed;" nor of Cæsar, who said, in the case of Rhymitalces the Thracian; "He loved the treason, but hated "the traitor:" But men are commonly affected towards villains, whom they have occasion for, just as they are towards venomous creatures, which they have need of for their poison and their gall. While they are of use

they love them, but abhor them when their purpose is effected. Such were the sentiments of Tatius with regard to Tarpeia, when he ordered the Sabines to remember their promise, and to grudge her nothing which they had on their left arms. He was the first to take off his bracelet, and throw it to her, and with that his shield.* As every one did the same, she was overpowered by the gold and shields thrown upon her, and, sinking under the weight, expired. Tarpeius, too, was taken, and condemned by Romulus for treason, as Juba writes after Sulpitius Galba. As for the account given of Tarpeia by other writers, among whom Antigonus is one, it is absurd and incredible: They say, that she was daughter to Tatius the Sabine general, and being compelled to live with Romulus, she acted and suffered thus by her father's contrivance. But the poet Simulus makes a most egregious blunder, when he says, Tarpeia betrayed the Capitol, not to the Sabines, but to the Gauls, having fallen in love with their king. Thus he writes:

> From her high dome, Tarpeia, wretched maid,
> To the fell Gauls the Capitol betray'd;
> The hapless victim of unchaste desires,
> She lost the fortress of her scepter'd fires.

And a little after, concerning her death,

> No amorous Celt, no fierce Bavarian bore
> The fair Tarpeia to his stormy shore;
> Press'd by those shields, whose splendor she admir'd
> She sunk, and in the shining death expir'd.

From the place where Tarpeia was buried, the hill had the name of the Tarpeian, till Tarquin consecrated the place to Jupiter, at which time her bones were removed, and so it lost her name; except that part of the Capitol from which malefactors are thrown down, which is still called the Tarpeian rock. The Sabines thus possessed of the fort, Romulus in great fury offered them battle, which Tatius did not decline, as he saw he had a place of strength to retreat to, in case he was worsted. And, indeed, the spot on which he was to engage, being surrounded with hills, seemed to promise on both sides a sharp and bloody contest, because it was so confined, and the

* Piso and other historians say, that Tatius treated her in this manner, because she acted a double part, and endeavoured to betray the Sabines to Romulus, while she was pretending to betray the Romans to them.

outlets were so narrow, that it was not easy either to fly or to pursue. It happened too, that a few days before, the river had overflowed, and left a deep mud on the plain, where the Forum now stands ; which, as it was covered with a crust, was not easily discoverable by the eye, but at the same time was soft underneath and impracticable. The Sabines, ignorant of this, were pushing forward into it, but by good fortune were prevented: For Curtius, a man of high distinction and spirit, being mounted on a good horse, advanced a considerable way before the rest.* Presently his horse plunged into the slough, and for a while he endeavoured to disengage him, encouraging him with his voice, and urging him with blows; but finding all ineffectual, he quitted him, and saved himself. From him the place, to this very time, is called the Curtian Lake. The Sabines, having escaped this danger, began the fight with great bravery. The victory inclined to neither side, though many were slain, and among the rest Hostilius; who, they say, was husband to Hersilia, and grandfather to that Hostilius who reigned after Numa. It is probable, there were many other battles in a short time; but the most memorable was the last; in which Romulus having received a blow upon the head with a stone, was almost beaten down to the ground, and no longer able to oppose the enemy; then the Romans gave way, and were driven from the plain as far as the Palatine hill. By this time Romulus recovering from the shock, endeavoured by force to stop his men in their flight, and loudly called upon them to stand and renew the engagement. But when he saw the rout was general,

* Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus relate the matter otherwise. They tell us, that Curtius at first repulsed the Romans ; but being in his turn overpowered by Romulus, and endeavouring to make good his retreat, he happened to fall into the lake, which from that time bore his name : For it was called Lacus Curtius, even when it was dried up, and almost in the centre of the Roman Forum. Procilius says, that the earth having opened, the Aruspices declared it necessary for the safety of the republic, that the bravest man in the city should throw himself into the gulph ; whereupon one Curtius, mounting on horseback, leaped armed into it, and the gulph immediately closed Before the building of the common sewers, this pool was a sort of sink, which received all the filth of the city. Some writers think, that it received its name from Curtius the consul, colleague to M. Genucius, because he caused it to be walled in by the advice of the Aruspices, after it had been struck with lightning. Varro de Ling. Lat. l. iv.

and that no one had courage to face about, he lifted up his hands towards heaven, and prayed to Jupiter to stop the army, and to re-establish and maintain the Roman cause, which was now in extreme danger. When the prayer was ended, many of the fugitives were struck with reverence for their king, and their fear was changed into courage. They first stopped where now stands the temple of Jupiter Stator, so called from his putting a stop to their flight. There they engaged again, and repulsed the Sabines as far as the palace now called Regia, and the temple of Vesta.

When they were preparing here to renew the combat with the same animosity as at first, their ardour was repressed by an astonishing spectacle, which the powers of language are unable to describe. The daughters of the Sabines, that had been forcibly carried off, appeared rushing this way and that with loud cries and lamentations, like persons distracted, amidst the drawn swords, and over the dead bodies, to come at their husbands and fathers; some carrying their infants in their arms, some darting forward with dishevelled hair, but all calling by turns both upon the Sabines and the Romans, by the tenderest names. Both parties were extremely moved, and room was made for them between the two armies. Their lamentations pierced to the utmost ranks, and all were deeply affected; particularly when their upbraiding and complaints ended in supplication and intreaty. "What great injury have we done you, said they, that we have suffered, and do still suffer so many miseries? We were carried off, by those who now have us, violently and illegally: After this violence we were so long neglected by our brothers, our fathers, and relations, that we were necessitated to unite in the strongest ties with those that were the objects of our hatred; and we are now brought to tremble for the men that had injured us so much, when we see them in danger, and to lament them when they fall. For you came not to deliver us from violence, while virgins, or to avenge our cause, but now you tear the wives from their husbands, and the mothers from their children; an assistance more grievous to us than all your neglect and disregard. Such love we experienced from them, and such compassion from you. Were the war undertaken in some other cause, yet surely you would

stop its ravages for us, who have made you fathers-in-law and grandfathers, or otherwise placed you in some near affinity to those whom you seek to destroy. But if the war be for us, take us, with your sons-in-law and their children, and restore us to our parents and kindred ; but do not, we beseech you, rob us of our children and husbands, lest we become captives again." Hersilia having said a great deal to this purpose, and others joining in the same request, a truce was agreed upon, and the generals proceeded to a conference. In the mean time the women presented their husbands and children to their fathers and brothers, brought refreshments to those that wanted them, and carried the wounded home to be cured. Here they shewed them, that they had the ordering of their own houses, what attentions their husbands paid them, and with what respect and indulgence they were treated. Upon this a peace was concluded, the conditions of which were, that such of the women as chose to remain with their husbands, should be exempt from all labour and drudgery, except spinning, as we have mentioned above ; that the city should be inhabited by the Romans and Sabines in common, with the name of Rome, from Romulus ; but that all the citizens, from Cures, the capital of the Sabines, and the country of Tatius, should be called Quirites ;* and that the regal power, and the command of the army, should be equally shared between them. The place where these articles were ratified, is still called Comitium,† from the Latin word *coire*, which signifies to *assemble*.

The city having doubled the number of its inhabitants, an hundred additional senators were elected from among the Sabines, and the legions were to consist of six thousand foot, and six hundred horse.‡ The people,

* The word *Quiris*, in the Sabine language, signified both a dart, and a warlike deity armed with a dart. It is uncertain whether the god gave name to the dart, or the dart to the god ; but however that be, this god Quiris or Quirinus was either Mars, or some other god of war, and was worshipped in Rome till Romulus, who after his death was honoured with the name Quirinus, took his place.

† The Comitium was at the foot of the hill Palatinus, over-against the Capitol. Not far from thence the two kings built the temple of Vulcan, where they usually met to consult the senate about the most important affairs.

‡ Ruauld, in his animadversions upon Plutarch, has discovered two considerable errors in this place. The first is, that Plutarch affirms,

too, were divided into three tribes, called Rhamnenses, from Romulus; Tatienses, from Tatius; and Lucerenses, from the *Lucus* or Grove, where the asylum stood, whither many had fled, and were admitted citizens. That they were precisely three, appears from the very name of Tribes, and that of their chief officers, who were called Tribunes. Each tribe contained ten *Curiæ* or Wards, which some say were called after the Sabine women. But this seems to be false; for many of them have their names from the several quarters of the city which were assigned to them. Many honourable privileges, however, were conferred upon the women; some of which were these; That the men should give them the way, wherever they met them; that they should not mention an obscene word, or appear naked before them; that, in case of their killing any person, they should not be tried before the ordinary judges; and that their children should wear an ornament about their necks, called *Bulla**, from its likeness to a bubble, and a garment bordered with purple. The two kings did not presently unite their councils, each meeting, for some time, their hundred senators apart, but afterwards they all assembled together. Tatius dwelt where the temple of Moneta now stands, and Romulus by the steps of the fair shore, as they are called, at the descent of the Palatine Hill to the Great Circus. There, we are told, grew the sacred Cornel-tree, the fa-

there were 600 horse put by Romulus in every legion, whereas there never were, at any time, so many in any of the legions. For there were at first 200 horse in each legion; after that, they rose to 300, and at last to 400, but never came up to 600. In the second place he tells us, that Romulus made the legion to consist of 6000 foot; whereas in his time it was never more than 3000. It is said by some, that Marius was the first who raised the legion to 6000; but Livy informs us, that that augmentation was made by Scipio Africanus, long before Marius. After the expulsion of the kings, it was augmented from three to four thousand, and some time after to five, and at last by Scipio (as we have said) to six. But this was never done, but upon pressing occasions. The stated force of the legion was 4000 foot, and 200 horse.

* The young men, when they took upon them the *Toga virilis*, or man's robe, quitted the *Bulla*, which is supposed to have been a little hollow ball of gold, and made an offering of it to the *Dii Lares*, or household gods. As to the *Prætexta*, or robe edged with purple, it was worn by girls till their marriage, and by boys till they were seventeen. But what in the time of Romulus was a mark of distinction for the children of the Sabine women, became afterwards very common; for even the children of the *Liberti*, or freed-men, were in

bulous account of which is, that Romulus once, to try his strength, threw a spear, whose shaft was of cornel-wood, from Mount Aventine to that place; the head of which stuck so deep in the ground, that no one could pull it out, though many tried; and the soil being rich, so nourished the wood, that it shot forth branches, and became a trunk of cornel of considerable bigness. This, posterity preserved with a religious care, as a thing eminently sacred, and therefore built a wall about it: and when any one that approached it, saw it not very flourishing and green, but inclining to fade and wither, he presently proclaimed it to all he met, who, as if they were to assist in case of fire, cried out for water, and ran from all quarters with full vessels to the place. But when Caius Cæsar ordered the steps to be repaired, and the workmen were digging near it, it is said they inadvertently injured the roots in such a manner, that the tree withered away.

The Sabines received the Roman months. All that is of importance on this subject is mentioned in the life of Numa. Romulus on the other hand, came into the use of their shields, making an alteration in his own armour, and that of the Romans, who, before, wore buckles in the manner of the Greeks. They mutually celebrated each other's feasts and sacrifices, not abolishing those of either nation, but over and above appointing some new ones; one of which is the Matronalia*, instituted in honour of the women, for their putting an end to the war; and another the Carmentalia†. Carmenta is by some supposed to be one of the Destinies, who presides over human nativities; therefore she is particularly worshipped by mothers. Others say, she was wife to Evander the Arcadian, and a woman addicted

* During this feast, such of the Roman women as were married, served their slaves at table, and received presents from their husbands, as the husbands did from their wives in the time of the Saturnalia. As the festival of the Matronalia was not only observed in honour of the Sabine women, but consecrated to Mars; and, as some will have it, to Juno Lucina, sacrifices were offered to both these deities. This feast was the subject of Horace's Ode; *Martiis cælebs quid agam calendis*, &c. and Ovid describes it at large in the 3d Book of Fasti. Dacier says, by mistake, that this feast was kept on the first of April, instead of the first of March, and the former English annotator has followed him

† This is a very solemn feast, kept on the 11th of January, under the Capitol, near the Carmental gate. They begged of this goddess to render the women fruitful, and to give them happy deliveries.

to divination, who received inspirations from Apollo, and delivered oracles in verse; thence called Carmenta, for *Carmina* signifies *verse;* but her proper name, as is agreed on all hands, was Nicostrata. Others, again, with grater probability assert, that the former name was given her, because she was distracted with enthusiastic fury; for *carere mente* signifies *to be insane*. Of the feast of Palilia, we have already given an account. As for the Lupercalia*, by the time, it should seem to be a feast of lustration; for it was celebrated on one of the inauspicious days of the month of February, which name denotes it to be the month of Purifying; and the day was formerly called Februta. But the true meaning of Lupercalia is the Feast of Wolves: and it seems, for that reason, to be very ancient, as received from the Arcadians, who came over with Evander. This is the general opinion. But the term may be derived from *Lupa*, a *she-wolf;* for we see the Luperci begin their course from the place where they say Romulus was exposed. However, if we consider the ceremonies, the reason of the name seems hard to guess; For first, goats are killed; then two noblemen's sons are introduced, and some are to stain their foreheads with a bloody knife, others to wipe off the stain directly, with wool steeped in milk, which they bring for that purpose. When it is wiped off, the young men are to laugh. After this they cut the goats' skins in pieces, and run about all naked, except their middle, and lash with those thongs all they meet. The young women avoid not the stroke, as they think it assists conception and child-birth. Another thing proper to this feast is, for the Luperci to sacrifice a dog. Butas, who in his elegies has given a fabulous account of the origin of the Roman institutions, writes, that when Romulus had overcome Amulius, in the transports of victory he ran with great speed to the place where the wolf suckled him and his brother, when infants; and that this feast is celebrated, and the young noblemen run, in imitation of that action, striking all that are in their way.

> As the fam'd twins of Rome, Amulius slain,
> From Alba pour'd, and with their reeking swords
> Saluted all they met.————————

* This festival was celebrated on the 11th of February, in honour of the God pan.

And the touching of the forehead with a bloody knife, is a symbol of that slaughter and danger, as the wiping off the blood with milk is in memory of their first nourishment. But Caius Acilius relates, that before the building of Rome, Romulus and Remus having lost their cattle, first prayed to Faunus for success in the search of them, and then ran out naked to seek them, that they might not be incommoded with sweat; therefore the Luperci run about naked. As to the dog, if this be a feast of lustration, we may suppose it is sacrificed, in order to be used in purifying; for the Greeks in their purifications make use of dogs, and perform the ceremonies which they call *Periskulakismoi*. But if these rites are observed in gratitude to the wolf that nourished and preserved Romulus, it is with propriety they kill a dog, because it is an enemy to wolves: yet, perhaps, nothing more was meant by it than to punish that creature for disturbing the Luperci in their running.

Romulus is likewise said to have introduced the Sacred Fire, and to have appointed the holy virgins called Vestals*. Others attribute this to Numa, but allow that Romulus was remarkably strict in observing other religious rites, and skilled in divination, for which purpose he bore the *Lituus*. This is a crooked staff, with which those that sit to observe the flight of birds,† describe the several quarters of the heavens. It was kept in the Capitol, but lost when Rome was taken by the Gauls; afterwards, when the barbarians had quitted it, it was found buried deep in ashes, untouched by the fire, whilst every thing about it was destroyed and consumed. Romulus also enacted some laws; amongst the rest that severe one, which forbids the wife in any case to leave her husband, ‡ but gives the husband power to divorce his wife, in case of her poisoning his children, or counter-

* Plutarch means that Romulus was the first who introduced the Sacred Fire at Rome. That there were Vestal virgins, however, before this, at Alba, we are certain, because the mother of Romulus was one of them. The sacred and perpetual fire was not only kept up in Italy, but in Egypt, in Persia, in Greece, and almost in all nations.

† The Agurs.

‡ Yet this privilege, which Plutarch thinks a hardship upon the women, was indulged the men by Moses in greater latitude. The women, however, among the Romans, came at length to divorce

feiting his keys, or being guilty of adultery. But if on any other occasion he put her away, she was to have one moiety of his goods, and the other was to be consecrated to Ceres ; and whoever put away his wife was to make an atonement to the gods of the earth. It is something particular, that Romulus appointed no punishment for actual parricides, but called all murder parricide, looking upon this as abominable, and the other as impossible. For many ages, indeed, he seemed to have judged rightly ; no one was guilty of that crime in Rome for almost six hundred years ; and Lucius Ostius, after the wars of Hannibal, is recorded to have been the first that murdered his father.

In the fifth year of the reign of Tatius, some of his friends and kinsmen meeting certain ambassadors who were going from Laurentum to Rome,* attempted to rob them on the road, and, as they would not suffer it, but stood in their own defence, killed them. As this was an atrocious crime, Romulus required that those who committed it should immediately be punished, but Tatius hesitated and put it off. This was the first occasion of any open variance between them ; for till now they had behaved themselves as if directed by one soul, and the administration had been carried on with all possible unanimity. The relations of those that were murdered, finding they could have no legal redress from Tatius, fell upon him and slew him at Lavinium, as he was offering sacrifice with Romulus ;† but they conducted Romulus back with applause, as a prince who paid all proper regard to justice. To the body of Tatius he gave an hon-

their husbands, as appears from Juvenal (Sat 9.) and Martial (l. x. ep. 41.) At the same time it must be observed, to the honour of Roman virtue, that no divorce was known at Rome for five hundred and twenty years. One P. Servilius, or Carvilius Spurius, was the first of the Romans that ever put away his wife.

* Dionysius of Halicarnassus says, they were ambassadors from Lavinium, who had been at Rome to complain of the incursions made by some of Tatius's friends upon their territories ; and that as they were returning, the Sabines lay in wait for them on the road, stripped them, and killed several of them. Lavinium and Laurentum were neighbouring towns in Latium.

† Probably this was a sacrifice to the Dii Indigenes of Latium, in which Rome was included. But Licinius writes, that Tatius went not thither with Romulus, nor on account of the sacrifice, but that he went alone to persuade the inhabitants to pardon the murderers.

ourable interment, at Armilustrium,* on Mount Aventine, but he took no care to revenge his death on the persons that killed him. Some historians write, that the Laurentians in great terror gave up the murderers of Tatius; but Romulus let them go, saying, "Blood with blood should be repaid." This occasioned a report, and indeed a strong suspicion, that he was not sorry to get rid of his partner in the government. None of these things, however, occasioned any disturbance or sedition among the Sabines; but partly out of regard for Romulus, partly out of fear of his power, or because the reverenced him as a god, they all continued well affected to him. This veneration for him extended to many other nations. The ancient Latins sent ambassadors, and entered into league and alliance with him. Fidenæ, a city in the neighbourhood of Rome, he took, as some say, by sending a body of horse before, with orders to break the hinges of the gates, and then appearing unexpectedly in person. Others will have it, that the Fidenates first attacked and ravaged the Roman territories, and were carrying off considerable booty, when Romulus lay in ambush for them, cut many of them off, and took their city. He did not, however, demolish it, but made it a Roman colony, and sent into it two thousand five hundred inhabitants on the thirteenth of April.

After this, a plague broke out, so fatal, that people died of it without any previous sickness; while the scarcity of fruits, and barrenness of the cattle, added to the calamity. It rained blood too in the city; so that their unavoidable sufferings were increased with the terrors of superstition; and when the destruction spread itself to Laurentum, then all agreed, it was for neglecting to do justice on the murderers of the ambassadors and of Tatius, that the divine vengeance pursued both cities. Indeed, when those murderers were given up and punished by both parties, their calamities visibly abated; and Romulus purified the city with lustrations, which, they tell us, are yet celebrated at the Ferentine gate. Before the pestilence ceased, the people of Cameria† attacked the Romans, and

* The place was so called, because of a ceremony of the same name, celebrated every year on the 19th of October, when the troops were mustered, and purified by sacrifices.

† This was a town which Romulus had taken before. Its old inhabitants took this opportunity to rise in arms, and kill the Roman garrison.

over-ran the country, thinking them incapable of resistance by reason of the sickness. But Romulus soon met them in the field, gave them battle, in which he killed six thousand of them, took their city, and transplanted half its remaining inhabitants to Rome ; adding, on the first of August, to those he left in Cameria, double their number from Rome. So many people had he to spare in about sixteen years time from the building of the city. Among other spoils, he carried from Cameria a chariot of brass, which he consecrated in the temple of Vulcan, placing upon it his own statue crowned by victory.

His affairs thus flourishing, the weaker part of his neighbours submitted, satisfied, if they could but live in peace : but the more powerful, dreading or envying Romulus, thought they should not by any means let him go unnoticed, but oppose and put a stop to his growing greatness. The Veientes, who had a strong city and extensive country,* were the first of the Tuscans who began the war, demanding Fidenæ as their property. But it was not only unjust, but ridiculous, that they who had given the people of Fidenæ no assistance in the greatest extremeties, but had suffered them to perish should challenge their houses and lands now in the possession of other masters. Romulus, therefore, gave them a contemptous answer ; upon which they divided their forces into two bodies ; one attacked the garrison of Fidenæ, and the other went to meet Romulus. That which went against Fidenæ defeated the Romans, and killed two thousand of them ; but the other was beaten by Romulus, with the loss of more than eight thousand men. They gave battle, however, once more, at Fidenæ, where all allow the victory was chiefly owing to Romulus himself, whose skill and courage were then remarkably displayed, and whose strength and swiftness appeared more than human. But what some report is entirely fabulous, and utterly incredible, that there fell that day fourteen thousand men, above half of whom Romulus slew with his own hand. For even the Messenians seem to have been extravagant in their boasts, when they tell us Aristomenes offered a hecatomb three several times, for having as often

* Veii, the capital of Tuscany was situated on a craggy rock, about one hundred furlongs from Rome ; and is compared by Dionysius of Halicarnassus to Athens for extent and riches.

killed a hundred Lacedæmonians.* After the Veientes were thus ruined, Romulus suffered the scattered remains to escape, and marched directly to their city. The inhabitants could not bear up after so dreadful a blow, but humbly suing for a peace, obtained a truce for a hundred years, by giving up a considerable part of their territory called Septempagium, which signifies a district of seven towns, together with the salt-pits by the river; besides which, they delivered into his hands fifty of their nobility as hostages. He triumphed for this on the fifteenth of October, leading up, among many other captives, the general of the Veientes, a man in years, who seemed on this occasion not to have behaved with the prudence which might have been expected from his age. Hence it is that, to this day, when they offer a sacrifice for victory, they lead an old man through the Forum to the Capitol, in a boy's robe edged with purple, with a bulla about his neck; and the herald cries "Sardians to be sold,"† for the Tuscans are said to be a colony of the Sardians, and Veii is a city of Tuscany.

This was the last of the wars of Romulus. After this he behaved as almost all men do, who rise by some great and unexpected good fortune to dignity and power; for exalted with his exploits, and loftier in his sentiments, he dropped his popular affability, and assumed the monarch to an odious degree. He gave the first offence by his dress; his habit being a purple vest, over which he wore a robe bordered with purple. He gave audience in a chair of state. He had always about him a number of young men called Celeres,‡ from their dispatch in doing business; and before him went men with staves to keep off the populace, who also wore thongs of leather at their

* Pausanias confirms this account, mentioning both the time and place of these achievments, as well as the hecatombs offered, on account of them, to Jupiter Ithomates. Those wars between the Messenians and Spartans were about the time of Tullus Hostilius.

† The Veientes, with the other Hetrurians, were a colony of Lydians, whose metropolis was the city of Sardis. Other writers date this custom from the time of the conquest of Sardinia by Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, when such a number of slaves was brought from that island, that none were to be seen in the market but Sardinians.

‡ Romulus ordered the Curiæ to choose him a guard of three hundred men, ten out of each Curiæ; and these he called Celeres, for the reason which Plutarch has assigned.

girdles, ready to bind directly any person he should order to be bound. This binding the Latins formerly called *ligare*,* now *alligare ;* whence those serjeants are called *Lictores*, and their rods *fasces ;* for the sticks they used on that occasion were small. Though, perhaps, at first they were called *Litores*, and afterwards, by putting in a *c*, *Lictores* : for they are the same that the Greeks called *Leitourgoi* (officers for the people ;) and *leitos*, in Greek, still signifies the *people*, but *laos* the *populace*.

When his grandfather Numitor died in Alba, though the crown undoubtedly belonged to him, yet, to please the people, he left the administration in their own hands ; and over the Sabines† (in Rome) he appointed yearly a particular magistrate : thus teaching the great men of Rome to seek a free commonwealth without a king, and by turns to rule and to obey. For now the patricians had no share in the government, but only an honourable title and appearance, assembling in the senate-house more for form than business. There, with silent attention, they heard the king give his orders, and differed only from the rest of the people in this, that they went home with the first knowledge of what was determined. This treatment they digested as well as they could ; but when, of his own authority, he divided the conquered lands among the soldiers, and restored the Veientes their hostages without the consent or approbation of the senate, they considered it as an intolerable insult. Hence arose strong suspicions against them, and Romulus soon after unaccountably disappeared. This happened on the 7th of July (as it is now called) then *Quintilis :* and we have no certainty of any thing about it but the time ; various ceremonies being still performed on that day with reference to the event. Nor need we wonder at this uncertainty, since, when Scipio Africanus was found dead in his house after supper,‡ there was no clear proof of the manner of

* Plutarch had no critical skill in the Latin language.

† Xylander and H. Stephanus are rationally enough of opinion, that instead of Sabines we should read Albans ; and so the Latin translator renders it.

‡ This was Scipio, the son of Paulus Æmilius, adopted by Scipio Africanus. As he constantly opposed the design of the Gracchi, it was supposed that his wife Sempronia, who was sister to those seditious men, took him off by poison. According to Valerius Maximus, no judicial inquiry was made into the cause of his death ; and Victor tells us, the corpse was carried out, with the face covered with a linen cloth, that the blackness of it might not appear.

his death: for some say, that being naturally infirm, he died suddenly; some, that he took poison; and others, that his enemies broke into his house by night, and strangled him. Besides, all were admitted to see Scipio's dead body, and every one from the sight of it, had his own suspicion or opinion of the cause. But as Romulus disappeared on a sudden, and no part of his body or even his garments could be found, some conjectured, that the senators, who were convened in the temple of Vulcan, fell upon him and killed him; after which each carried a part away under his gown. Others say, that his exit did not happen in the temple of Vulcan, nor in the presence of the senators only, but while he was holding an assembly of the people without the city, at a place called the Goat's Marsh. The air on that occasion was suddenly convulsed and altered in a wonderful manner; for the light of the sun failed,* and they were involved in an astonishing darkness, attended on every side with dreadful thunderings, and tempestuous winds. The multitude then dispersed and fled, but the nobility gathered into one body. When the tempest was over, and the light appeared again, the people returned to the same place, a very anxious inquiry was made for the king; but the patricians would not suffer them to look closely into the matter. They commanded them to honour and worship Romulus, who was caught up to heaven, and who, as he had been a gracious king, would be to the Romans a propitious deity. Upon this, the multitude went away with great satisfaction, and worshipped him, in hopes of his favour and protection. Some, however, searching more minutely into the affair, gave the patricians no small uneasiness; they even accused them of imposing upon the people a ridiculous tale, when they had murdered the king with their own hands.

While things were in this disorder, a senator, we are told of great distinction, and famed for sanctity of man-

* Cicero mentions this remarkable darkness in a fragment of his sixth book *de Repub.* And it appears from the astronomical tables, that there was a great eclipse of the sun in the first year of the sixteenth Olympiad, supposed to be the year that Romulus died, on the twenty-sixth of May, which, considering the little exactness there was then in the Roman calendar, might very well coincide with the month of July.

ners, Julius Proculus by name,* who came from Alba with Romulus, and had been his faithful friend, went into the Forum, and declared upon the most solemn oaths, before all the people, that as he was travelling on the road, Romulus met him, in a form more noble and august than ever, and clad in bright and dazzling armour. Astonished at the sight, he said to him, "For what misbehaviour of ours, O king, or by what accident, have you so untimely left us, to labour under the heaviest calumnies, and the whole city to sink under inexpressible sorrow?" To which he answered, "It pleased the gods, my good Proculus, that we should dwell with men for a time; and after having founded a city which will be the most powerful and glorious in the world, return to heaven, from whence we came. Farewell then, and go, tell the Romans, that, by the exercise of temperance and fortitude, they shall attain the highest pitch of human greatness, and I, the god Quirinus will ever be propitious to you." This, by the character and oath of the relator, gained credit with the Romans, who were caught with the enthusiasm, as if they had been actually inspired; and, far from contradicting what they had heard, bade adieu to all their suspicions of the nobility, united in the deifying of Quirinus, and addressed their devotions to him. This is very like the Grecian fables concerning Aristeas the Proconnesian, and Cleomedes, the Astypalensian. For Aristeas, as they tell us, expired in a fuller's shop; and when his friends came to take away the body, it could not be found. Soon after, some persons coming in from a journey, said they met Aristeas travelling towards Croton. As for Cleomedes, their account of him is, that he was a man of gigantic size and strength; but behaving in a foolish and frantic manner, he was guilty of many acts of violence. At last he went into a school, where he struck the pillar that supported the roof with his fist, and broke it asunder, so that the roof fell in and destroyed the children. Pursued for this, he took refuge in a great chest, and having shut the lid upon him, he held it down so fast, that many men together could not force it open: when they had cut the chest in pieces, they could not find him either dead or alive. Struck with this strange affair,

* A descendant of Julus or Ascanius.

they sent to consult the oracle at Delphi, and had from the priestess this answer,

The race of heroes ends in Cleomedes.

It is likewise said, that the body of Alcmena was lost, as they were carrying it to the grave, and a stone was seen lying on the bier in its stead. Many such improbable tales are told by writers who wanted to deify beings naturally mortal. It is indeed impious and illiberal to leave nothing of divinity to virtue: but, at the same time, to unite heaven and earth in the same subject, is absurd. We should, therefore, reject fables, when we are possessed of undeniable truth; for, according to Pindar,

Their body yields to death's all-powerful summons,
While the bright image of eternity
Survives ———————————

This alone is from the gods: from heaven it comes, and to heaven it returns; not indeed with the body; but when it is entirely set free and separate from the body, when it becomes disengaged from every thing sensual and unholy. For in the language of Heraclitus, the pure soul is of superior excellence,* darting from the body like a flash of lightening from a cloud; but the soul that is carnal and immersed in sense,† like a heavy and dank

* This is a very difficult passage. The former translator, with an unjustifiable liberty, has turned αυτη γαρ ψυχη ξηρη αριστη, *A virtuous soul is pure and unmixed light*; which, however excellent the sentiment, as borrowed from the Scripture, where he had found that *God is light*, is by no means the sense of the original.

Dacier has translated it literally *l'ame seche*, and remarks the propriety of the expression, with respect to that position of Heraclitus, that fire is the first principle of all things. The French critic went upon the supposed analogy between fire and dryness; but there is a much more natural and more obvious analogy, which may help us to the interpretation of this passage; that is, the near relation which dryness has to purity or cleanliness: and indeed we find the word ξηρος used metaphorically in the latter sense—ξηροι τροποι.

† Milton, in his Comus, uses the same comparison; for which, however he is indebted rather to Plato than to Plutarch.

———The lavish act of sin
Lets in defilement to the inward parts.
The soul grows clotted by contagion,
Imbodies, and imbrutes, till she quite lose
The divine property of her first being.

vapour, with difficulty is kindled and aspires. There is therefore no occasion, against nature, to send the bodies of good men to heaven; but we are to conclude, that virtuous souls, by nature and the divine justice, rise from men to heroes, from heroes to genii; and at last, if, as in the mysteries, they be perfectly cleansed and purified, shaking off all remains of mortality, and all the power of the passions, then they finally attain the most glorious and perfect happiness, and ascend from genii to gods, not by the vote of the people, but by the just and established order of nature.*

The surname that Romulus had of Quirinus, some think was given him, as (another) Mars; others, because they call the Roman citizens Quirites; others, again because the ancients gave the name of Quiris to the point of a spear, or to the spear itself; and that of Juno Quiritis to the statues of Juno, when she was represented leaning on a spear. Moreover, they styled a certain spear, which was consecrated in the palace, Mars; and those that distinguished themselves in war were rewarded with a spear. Romulus, then, as a martial or warrior god, was named Quirinus; and the hill on which his temple stands, has the name of Quirinalis on his account. The day on which he disappeared, is called *the flight of the people, and Nonæ Caprotinæ*, because then they go out of the city to offer sacrifice at the Goat's-Marsh. On this occasion they pronounce aloud some of their proper names, Marcus and Caius for instance, representing the flight that then happened, and their calling upon one another, amidst the terror and confusion. Others, however, are of opinion, that this is not a representation of flight, but of haste and eagerness, deriving the ceremony from this source: When the Gauls,

> Such are those thick and gloomy shadows damp
> Oft seen in charnel vaults and sepulchres,
> Ling'ring and sitting by a new made grave,
> And loth to leave the body that it lov'd,
> And links itself by carnal sensuality
> To a degenerate and degraded state.

*Hesiod was the first who distinguished those four natures, men, heroes, genii and gods. He saw room, it seems, for perpetual progession and improvement in a state of immortality. And when the heathens tell us, that before the last degree, that of divinity is reached, those beings are liable to be replunged into their primitive state of darkness, one would imagine they had heard something of the fallen angels.

after the taking of Rome, were driven out by Camillus, and the city thus weakened did not easily recover itself, many of the Latins, under the conduct of Livius Posthumius, marched against it. This army sitting down before Rome, a herald was sent to signify, that the Latins were desirous to renew their old alliance and affinity, which was now declining by new inter-marriages. If, therefore they would send them a good number of their virgins and widows, peace and friendship should be established between them, as it was before with the Sabines on the like occasion. When the Romans heard this, though they were afraid of war yet they looked upon the giving up of their women as not at all more eligible than captivity. While they were in this suspense, a servant-maid, named Philotis, or according to others, Tutola, advised them to do neither, but by a stratagem, which she had thought of, to avoid both the war and the giving of hostages. The stratagem was to dress Philotis herself and other handsome female slaves, in good attire, and send them, instead of free-born virgins, to the enemy. Then in the night, Philotis was to light up a torch (as a signal) for the Romans to attack the enemy, and dispatch them in their sleep. The Latins were satisfied, and the scheme put in practice. For accordingly Philotis did set up a torch on a wild fig-tree, screening it behind with curtains and coverlets from the sight of the enemy, whilst it was visible to the Romans. As soon as they beheld it, they set out in great haste, often calling upon each other at the gates to be expeditious. Then they fell upon the Latins, who expected nothing less, and cut them in pieces. Hence this feast, in memory of the victory. The day was called *Nonæ Caprotinæ*, on account of the *wild fig-tree*, in the Roman tongue *caprificus*. The women are entertained in the fields in booths made of the branches of the fig-tree: and the servant-maids in companies run about and play; afterwards they come to blows, and throw stones at one another, in remembrance of their then assisting and standing by the Romans in the battle. These particulars are admitted but by few historians. Indeed, their calling upon each other's names in the day-time, and their walking in procession to the *Goat's Marsh*,*

* Instead of ως επι θαλαττων, the reading in Bryan's text, which has no tolerable sence, an anonymous copy gives us ωσπερ αλαλαζειν.

like persons that were going to a sacrifice, seems rather to be placed to the former account: though possibly both those events might happen, in distant periods on the same day. Romulus is said to have been fifty-four years of age, and in the thirty-eighth of his reign,* when he was taken from the world.

ROMULUS AND THESEUS COMPARED.

THIS is all I have met with that deserves to be related concerning Romulus and Theseus. And to come to the comparison,† first it appears, that Theseus was inclined to great enterprizes, by his own proper choice, and compelled by no necessity, since he might have reigned in peace at Trœzene, over a kingdom by no means contemptible, which would have fallen to him by succession; Whereas Romulus, in order to avoid present slavery and impending punishment, became valiant (as Plato expresses it) through fear and was driven, by the terror of extreme sufferings to arduous attempts. Besides, the greatest action of Romulus was the killing of one tyrant in Alba: But the first exploits of Theseus, performed occassionally, and by way of prelude only, were those of destroying Sciron, Sinnis, Procrustes, and the *club-bearer;* by whose punishment and death he delivered Greece from several cruel tyrants, before they, for whose preservation he was labouring, knew him. Moreover,

And that to *sacrifice*, or rather *to offer up prayers at a sacrifice*, is in one sense of αλαλαζειν appears from the scholiast on Sophocles's *Trachiniæ* where he explains αλαλαγοις by ταις επι των θυσιων ευχαις. This signification, we suppose, it gained from the loud accent in which those prayers were said or sung.

* Dionysius of Halicarnassus (and indeed Plutarch himself, in the beginning of the life of Numa) says, that Romulus left the world in the thirty-seventh year after the foundation of Rome. But perhaps those two historians may be reconciled as to the age he died at. For Plutarch says, he was then full fifty-four years of age, and Dionysius that he was in his fifty-fifth year.

† Nothing can be more excellant than these parallels of Plutarch. He weighs the virtues and vices of men in so just a balance, and puts so true an estimate on their good and bad qualities, that the reader cannot attend to them without infinite advantage.

he might have gone safely to Athens by sea, without any danger from robbers; but Romulus could have no security, while Amulius lived. This difference is evident. Theseus, when unmolested himself, went forth to rescue others from their oppressors. On the other hand, Romulus and his brother, while they were uninjured by the tyrant themselves, quietly suffered him to exercise his cruelties. And, if it was a great thing for Romulus to be wounded in the battle with the Sabines, to kill Acron, and to conquer many other enemies, we may set against these distinctions the battle with the Centaurs, and the war with the Amazons.

But as to Theseus's enterprize with respect to the Cretan tribute, when he voluntarily offered to go among the young men and virgins, whether he was to expect to be food for some wild beast, or to be sacrificed at Androgeus's tomb, or, which is the lightest of all the evils said to be prepared for him, to submit to a vile and dishonourable slavery, it is not easy to express his courage and magnanimity, his regard for justice and the public good, and his love of glory and of virtue. On this occasion, it appears to me, that the philosophers have not ill defined *love* to be *a remedy provided by the gods for the safety and preservation of youth.** For Ariadne's love seems to have been the work of some god, who designed by that means to preserve this great man. Nor should we blame her for her passion, but rather wonder that all were not alike affected towards him. And if she alone was sensible of that tenderness, I may justly pronounce her worthy the love of a god,† as she shewed so great a regard for virtue and excellence in her attachment to so worthy a man.

Both Theseus and Romulus were born with political talents; yet neither of them preserved the proper charater of a king, but deviated from the due medium, the one erring on the side of democracy, the other on that of absolute power, according to their different tempers. For a prince's first concerns is to preserve the government

* *Vide* PLAT. *Conviv.*

† Plutarch here enters into the notion of Socrates, who teaches, that it is the love of virtue and real excellence which alone can unite us to the Supreme Being. But though this maxim is good, it is not applicable to Ariadne. For where is the virtue of that princess, who fell in love with a stranger at first sight, and hastened to the completion of her wishes through the ruin of her kindred and her country?

itself: and this is effected, no less by avoiding whatever is improper, than by cultivating what is suitable to his dignity. *He who gives up, or extends his authority, continues not a prince or a king, but degenerates into a republican or a tyrant*, and thus incurs either the hatred or contempt of his subjects. The former seems to be the error of a mild and humane disposition, the latter of self-love and severity.

If, then, the calamities of mankind are not to be entirely attributed to fortune, but we are to seek the cause in their different manners and passions, here we shall find, that unreasonable anger, with quick and unadvised resentment, is to be imputed both to Romulus, in the case of his brother, and to Theseus in that of his son. But, if we consider whence their anger took its rise, the latter seems the more excusable, from the greater cause he had for resentment, as yielding to the heavier blow. For, as the dispute began when Romulus was in cool consultation for the common good,* one would think he could not presently have given way to such a passion: Whereas Theseus was urged against his son, by emotions which few men have been able to withstand, proceeding from love, jealousy, and the false suggestions of his wife. What is more, the anger of Romulus discharged itself in an action of most unfortunate consequence; but that of Theseus proceeded no further than words, reproaches, and imprecations, the usual revenge of old men. The rest of the young man's misery seems to have been owing to fortune. Thus far Theseus seems to deserve the preference.

But Romulus has, in the first place, this great advantage, that he rose to distinction from very small beginnings. For the two brothers were reputed slaves and sons of herdsmen; and yet before they attained to liberty themselves, they bestowed it on almost all the Latins; gaining at once the most glorious titles, as destroyers of their enemies, deliverers of their kindred; kings of nations, and founders of cities, not transplanters, as Theseus was, who filled indeed one city with people, but it was by ruining many others, which bore the names of ancient kings

* Plutarch does not seem to have had a just idea of the contest between Romulus and Remus. The two brothers were not so solicitous about the situation of their new city, as which of them should have the command in it, when it was built.

and heroes. And Romulus afterwards effected the same, when he compelled his enemies to demolish their habitations, and incorporate with their conquerors. He had not, however, a city ready built, to enlarge, or to transplant inhabitants to from other towns, but he created one, gaining to himself lands, a country, a kingdom, children, wives, alliances; and this without destroying or ruining any one. On the contrary, he was a great benefactor to persons who, having neither house nor habitation, willingly became his citizens and people. He did not, indeed, like Theseus, destroy robbers and ruffians, but he subdued nations, took cities, and triumphed over kings and generals.

As for the fate of Remus, it is doubtful by what hand he fell; most writers ascribing it to others, and not to Romulus. But, in the face of all the world, he saved his mother from destruction, and placed his grandfather, who lived in mean and dishonourable subjection, upon the throne of Æneas: Moreover, he voluntarily did him many kind offices, but never injured him, not even inadvertently. On the other hand, I think, Theseus, in forgetting or neglecting the command about the sail, can scarcely, by any excuses, or before the mildest judges, avoid the imputation of parricide. Sensible how difficult the defence of this affair would be to those who should attempt it, a certain Athenian writer feigns, that when the ship approached, Ægeus ran in great haste to the citadel for the better view of it, and missing his step, fell down; as if he were destitute of servants, or went, in whatever hurry, unattended to the sea.

Moreover, Theseus's rapes and offences, with respect to women, admit of no plausible excuse; because, in the first place, they were committed often; for he carried off Ariadne, Antiope, and Anaxo the Trœzenian; after the rest, Helen; though she was a girl not yet come to maturity, and he so far advanced in years, that it was time for him to think no more even of lawful marriage: The next aggravation is the cause; for the daughters of the Trœzenians, the Lacedæmonians, and the Amazons, were not more fit to bring children, than those of the Athenians sprung from Erectheus and Cecrops. These things, therefore, are liable to the suspicion of a wanton and licencious appetite. On the other hand, Romulus, having carried off at once almost eight hundred women, did not

take them all, but only Hersilia, as it is said, for himself, and distributed the rest among the most respectable citizens. And afterwards, by the honourable and affectionate treatment he procured them, he turned that injury and violence into a glorious exploit, performed with a political view to the good of society. Thus he united and cemented the two nations together, and opened a source of future kindness, and of additional power. Time bears witness to the conjugal modesty, tenderness, and fidelity, which he established; for during two hundred and thirty years no man attempted to leave his wife, nor any woman her husband.* And, as the very curious among the Greeks can tell you, who was the first person that killed his father and mother, so all the Romans know, that Spurius Carvilius was the first that divorced his wife, alleging her barrenness.† The immediate effects, as well as length of time, attest what I have said. For the two kings shared the kingdom, and the two nations came under the same government, by means of these alliances. But the marriages of Theseus procured the Athenians no friendship with any other state; on the contrary, enmity, wars, the destruction of their citizens, and at last the loss of Aphidnæ; which, only through the compassion of the enemy, whom the inhabitants supplicated and honoured like gods, escaped the fate that befel Troy by means of Paris. However, the mother of Theseus, deserted and given up by her son, was not only in danger of, but really did suffer, the misfortunes of Hecuba, if her captivity be not a fiction, as a great deal besides may very well be. As to the stories we have concerning both, of a supernatural kind, the difference is great. For Romulus was preserved by the signal favour of heaven; but as the oracle which commanded Ægeus not to approach any woman in a foreign country, was not observed, the birth of Theseus appears to have been unacceptable to the gods.

* These numbers are wrong in Plutarch; for Dionysius of Halicarnassus marks the time with great exactness, acquainting us, that it was 520 years after the building of Rome, in the consulate of M. Pomponius Matho and C. Papirius Masso.

† Carvilius made oath before the censors, that he had the best regard for his wife, and that it was solely in compliance with the sacred engagement of marriage, the design of which was to have children, that he divorced her. But this did not hinder his character from being ever after odious to the people, who thought he had set a very pernicious example.

LYCURGUS.*

OF Lycurgus the lawgiver we have nothing to relate that is certain and uncontroverted. For there are different accounts of his birth, his travels, his death, and especially of the laws and form of government which he established. But least of all are the times agreed upon in which this great man lived. For some say he flourished at the same time with Iphitus,† and joined with him in settling the cessation of arms during the Olympic games. Among these is Aristotle the philosopher, who alleges for proof an Olympic quoit, on which was preserved the inscription of Lycurgus's name, But others who, with Eratosthenes and Apollodorus, compute the time by the succession of the Spartan kings,‡ place him much earlier

* The life of Lycurgus was the first which Plutarch published, as he himself observes in the life of Theseus. He seems to have had a strong attachment to the Spartans and their customs, as Xenophon likewise had. For, beside this life, and those of several other Spartan chiefs, we have a treatise of his on the laws and customs of the Lacedæmonians, and another of Laconic Apophthegms. He makes Lycurgus in all things a perfect hero, and alleges his behaviour as a proof, that the wise man, so often described by the philosophers, was not a mere ideal character unattainable by human nature. It is certain, however, that the encomiums bestowed upon him and his laws by the Delphic oracle, were merely a contrivance between the Pythoness and himself; and some of his laws, for instance that concerning the women, were exceptionable.

† Iphitus, king of Elis, is said to have instituted, or rather restored the Olympic games, 108 years before what is commonly reckoned the first Olympiad, which commenced in the year before Christ 776, or, as some will have it, 774, and bore the name of Corœbus, as the following Olympiads did those of other victors.

Iphitus began with offering a sacrifice to Hercules, whom the Eleans believed to have been upon some account exasperated against them. He next ordered the Olympic games, the discontinuance of which was said to have caused a pestilence, to be proclaimed all over Greece, with a promise of free admission to all comers, and fixed the time for the celebration of them. He likewise took upon himself to be sole president and judge of those games, a privilege which the Piseans had often disputed with his predecessors, and which continued to his descendants, as long as the regal dignity subsisted. After this, the people appointed two presidents, which in time increased to ten, and at length to twelve.

‡ Strabo says, that Lycurgus the lawgiver certainly lived in the fifth generation after Althemenes, who led a colony into Crete. This Althemenes was the son of Cissus, who founded Argos, at the same

than the first Olympiad. Timæus, however, supposes, that, as there were two Lycurgus's in Sparta at different times, the actions of both are ascribed to one, on account of his particular renown; and that the more ancient of them lived not long after Homer; Nay some say he had seen him. Xenophon, too confirms the opinion of his antiquity, when he makes him cotemporary with the Heraclidæ. It is true, the latest of the Lacedæmonian kings were of the lineage of the Heraclidæ; but Xenophon there seems to speak of the first and more immediate descendants of Hercules.* As the history of those times is thus involved, in relating the circumstances of Lycurgus's life, we shall endeavour to select such as are at least controverted, and follow authors of the greatest credit.

Simonides the poet tells us, that Prytanis, not Eunomus, was father to Lycurgus. But most writers give us the genealogy of Lycurgus and Eunomus in a different manner; for, according to them, Sous was the son of Patrocles, and grandson of Aristodemus; Eurytion the son of Sous, Prytanis of Eurytion, and Eunomus of Prytanis; to this Eunomus was born Polydectes, by a former wife, and by a second, named Dianassa, Lycurgus. Eutychidas, however, says Lycurgus was the sixth from Patrocles, and the eleventh from Hercules. The most distinguished of his ancestors was Sous, under whom the Lacedæmonians made the *Helots* their slaves,† and gained an extensive tract of land from the Arcadians. Of this Sous it is related, that, being besieged by the Clitorians in a difficult post where there was no water, he agreed to give up all his conquests, provided that himself and all his army should drink of the neighbouring spring. When these conditions were sworn to, he assembled his forces, and offered his kingdom to the man

time that Patrocles, Lycurgus's ancestor in the fifth degree, laid the foundation of Sparta. So that Lycurgus flourished some short time after Solomon, about 900 years before the Christian Æra.

* This passage is in Xenophon's excellent treatise concerning the republic of Sparta, from which Plutarch has taken the best part of this life.

† The Helots, or Ilotes, were inhabitants of Helos, a maritime town of Laconia. The Lacedæmonians having conquered and made slaves of them, called not only them, but all the other slaves they happened to have, by the name of *Helotes*. It is certain, however, that the descendants of the original *Helotes*, though they were extremely ill-treated, and some of them assassinated, subsisted many ages in Laconia,

that would forbear drinking; not one of them, however, could deny himself, but they all drank. Then Sous went down to the spring himself, and having only sprinkled his face in sight of the enemy, he marched off, and still held the country, because *all* had not drank. Yet, though he was highly honoured for this, the family had not their name from him, but from his son, were called *Eurytionidæ*: * and this, because Eurytion seems to be the first who relaxed the strictness of kingly government, inclining to the interest of the people, and ingratiating himself with them. Upon this relaxation, their encroachments increased, and the succeeding kings, either becoming odious, treating them with greater rigour, or else giving way through weakness or in hopes of favour, for a long time anarchy and confusion prevailed in Sparta; by which one of its kings. the father of Lycurgus lost his life. For while he was endeavouring to part some persons who were concerned in a fray, he received a wound by a kitchen knife of which he died, leaving the kingdom to his eldest son Polydectes.

But, he too, dying soon after, the general voice gave it for Lycurgus to ascend the throne; and he actually did so, till it appeared that his brother's widow was pregnant. As soon as he perceived this, he declared that the kingdom belonged to her issue, provided it were male, and he kept the administration in his hands, only as his guardian. This he did with the title of *Prodicos*, which the Lacedæmonians give to the guardians of infant kings. Soon after the queen made him a private overture, that she would destroy her child upon condition that he would marry her, when king of Sparta. Though he detested her wickedness, he said nothing against the proposal, but

* It may be proper here to give the reader a short view of the regal government of Lacedæmon, under the Herculean line. The Heraclidæ having driven out Tisamenes, the son of Orestes, Eurysthenes and Procles, the sons of Aristodemus, reigned in that kingdom. Under them the government took a new form, and instead of one sovereign became subject to two. These two brothers did not divide the kingdom between them, neither did they agree to reign alternately, but they resolved to govern jointly, and with equal power and authority. What is surprizing is, that, notwithstanding their mutual jealousy, this diarchy did not end with these two brothers, but continued under a succession of thirty princes of the line of Eurysthenes, and twenty-seven of that of Procles. Eurysthenes was succeeded by his son Agis, from whom all the descendants of that line were surnamed *Agidæ*, as the other line took the name *Eurytionidæ*, from Eurytion, the grandson of Procles, Patrocles, or Protocles. PAUSAN. STRAB. & *al.*

pretending to approve it, charged her not to take any drugs to procure an abortion, lest she should endanger her own health or life; for he would take care that the child, as soon as born, should be destroyed. Thus he artfully drew on the woman to her full time, and, when he heard she was in labour, he sent persons to attend and watch her delivery, with orders, if it were a girl to give it to the women, but if a boy, to bring it to him, in whatever business he might be engaged. It happened that he was at supper with the magistrates when she was delivered of a boy, and his servants, who were present, carried the child to him. When he received it, he is reported to have said to the company, *Spartans, see here your new-born king.* He then laid him down upon the chair of state, and named him Charilaus, because of the joy and admiration of his magnanimity and justice, testified by all present. Thus the reign of Lycurgus lasted only eight months. But the citizens had a great veneration for him on other accounts, and there were more that paid him their attentions, and were ready to execute his commands, out of regard to his virtues, than those who obeyed him as a guardian to the king, and director of the administration. There were not, however, wanting those that envied him, and opposed his advancement, as too high for so young a man; particularly the relations and friends of the queen-mother, who seemed to have been treated with contempt. Her brother Leonidas, one day boldly attacked him with virulent language, and scrupled not to tell him, that he was well assured he would soon be king; thus preparing suspicions, and matter of accusation against Lycurgus, in case any accident should befal the king. Insinuations of the same kind were likewise spread by the queen-mother. Moved with this ill treatment, and fearing some dark design, he determined to get clear of all suspicion, by travelling into other countries, till his nephew should be grown up, and have a son to succeed him in the kingdom.

He set sail, therefore and landed in Crete. There having observed the forms of government, and conversed with the most illustrious personages, he was struck with admiration of some of their laws,* and resolved at his

* The most ancient writers, as Ephorus, Callisthenes, Aristotle, and Plato, are of opinion, that Lycurgus adopted many things in the Cretan polity. But Polybius will have it that they are all mis-

return to make use of them in Sparta. Some others he rejected. Among the friends he gained in Crete; was Thales,* with whom he had interest enough to persuade him to go and settle at Sparta. Thales was famed for his wisdom and political abilities: he was withal a lyric poet, who under colour of exercising his art, performed as great things as the most excellent lawgivers. For his odes were so many persuasives to obedience and unanimity, as by means of melody and numbers, they had great grace and power, they softened insensibly the manners of the audience, drew them off from the animosities which then prevailed, and united them in zeal for excellence and virtue. So that, in some measure, he prepared the way for Lycurgus towards the instruction of the Spartans. From Crete Lycurgus passed to Asia, desirous, as is said, to compare the Ionian † expence and luxury with the Cretan frugality and hard diet, so as to judge what effect each had on their several manners and governments; just as physicians compare bodies that are weak and sickly with the healthy and robust. There also, probably, ‡ he met with Homer's poems, which were preserved by the posterity of Cleophylus. Observing that many moral sentences, and much political knowledge were inter-

taken. "At Sparta," says he, (in his sixth book) "the lands are equally divided among all the citizens; wealth is banished; the crown is hereditary; whereas in Crete the contrary obtains." But this does not prove that Lycurgus might not take some good laws and usages from Crete, and leave what he thought defective. There is, indeed, so great a conformity between the laws of Lycurgus and those of Minos, that we must believe with Strabo, that these were the foundation of the other.

* This Thales, who was a poet and musician, must be distinguished from Thales the Milesian, who was one of the seven wise men of Greece. The poet lived 250 years before the philosopher.

† The Ionians sent a colony from Attica into Asia Minor, about 1050 years before the Christian Æra, and 150 before Lycurgus. And though they might not be greatly degenerated in so short a time, yet our lawgiver could judge of the effect which the climate and Asiatic plenty had upon them.

‡ He adds *probably as some*, because some Greek authors have affirmed that Lycurgus saw Homer himself, who was at that time at Chios. But Plutarch's opinion is more to be relied on. Homer died before Lycurgus was born. Before the time of Lycurgus, they had nothing in Greece of Homer, but some detached pieces, which were severally named from the different subjects treated of in them; such as the valour of *Diomede*, *Hector's Ransom*, and the like.

mixed with his stories, which had an irresistible charm, he collected them into one body, and transcribed them with pleasure, in order to take them home with him. For his glorious poetry was not yet fully known in Greece; only some particular pieces were in a few hands, as they happened to be dispersed. Lycurgus was the first that made them generally known. The Egyptians likewise suppose that he visited *them;* and as of all their institutions he was most pleased with their distinguishing the military men from the rest of the people,* he took the same method at Sparta, and, by separating from these the mechanics and artificers, he rendered the constitution more noble and more of a piece. This assertion of the Egyptians is confirmed by some of the Greek writers. But we know of no one, except Aristocrates, son of Hipparchus, and a Spartan, who has affirmed that he went to Libya and Spain, and in his Indian excursions conversed with the *Gymnosophists*.†

The Lacedæmonians found the want of Lycurgus when absent, and sent many embassies to intreat him to return. For they perceived that their kings had barely the title and outward appendages of royalty, but in nothing else differed from the multitude; whereas Lycurgus had abilities from nature to guide the measures of government, and powers of persuasion, that drew the hearts of men to him. The kings, however, were consulted about his return, and they hoped that in his presence they should experience less insolence amongst the people. Returning then to a city thus disposed, he immediately applied himself to alter the whole frame of the constitution, sen-

* The ancient Egyptians kept not only the priests and military men who consisted chiefly of the nobility, distinct from the rest of the people; but the other employments, *viz.* those of herdsmen, shepherds, merchants, interpreters, and seamen, descended in particular tribes from father to son.

† Indian priests and philosophers who went almost naked, and lived in woods. The *Brachmans* were one of their sects. They had a great aversion to idleness. Apuleius tells us, every pupil of theirs was obliged to give account every day of some good he had done, either by meditation or action, before he was admitted to sit down to dinner. So thoroughly were they persuaded of the transmigration of the soul, and a happy one for themselves, that they used to commit themselves to the flames, when they had lived to satiety, or were apprehensive of any misfortune. But we are afraid it was vanity that induced one of them to burn himself before Alexander the Great, and another to do the same before Augustus Cæsar.

sible that a partial change, and the introducing of some new laws, would be of no sort of advantage; but, as in the case of a body diseased and full of bad humours, whose temperament is to be corrected and new formed by medicines, it was necessary to begin a new regimen. With these sentiments he went to Delphi, and when he had offered sacrifice and consulted the god,* he returned with that celebrated oracle, in which the priestess called him, *Beloved of the gods, and rather a god than a man.* As to his request that he might enact good laws, she told him, Apollo *had heard his request, and promised that the constitution he should establish, would be the most excellent in the world.* Thus encouraged, he applied to the nobility, and desired them to put their hands to the work; addressing himself privately at first to his friends, and afterwards, by degrees, trying the disposition of others, and preparing them to concur in the business. When matters were ripe, he ordered thirty of the principal citizens to appear armed in the market place by break of day, to strike terror into such as might desire to oppose him. Hermippus has given us the names of twenty of the most eminent of them; but he that had the greatest share in the whole enterprise, and gave Lycurgus the best assistance in the establishing of his laws, was called Arithmiades. Upon the first alarm, king Charilaus, apprehending it to be a design against his person, took refuge in the *Chalcioicos.*† But he was soon satisfied, and accepted of their oath. Nay, so far from being obstinate, he joined in the undertaking. Indeed, he was so remarkable for the gentleness of his disposition, that Archelaus, his partner in the throne, is reported to have said to some that were praising the young king, *Yes, Charilaus is a good man to be sure, who cannot find in his heart to punish the bad.* Among the

* As Minos had persuaded the Cretans, that his laws were delivered to him from Jupiter, so Lycurgus, his imitator, was willing to make the Spartans believe that he did every thing by the direction of Apollo. Other legislatures have found it very convenient to propagate an opinion, that their institutions were from the gods. For that self-love in human nature, which would but ill have borne with the superiority of genius that must have been acknowledged in an unassisted lawgiver, found an ease and satisfaction in admitting his new regulations, when they were said to come from heaven.

† That is, the *brazen temple.* It was standing in the time of Pausanias, who lived in the reign of Marcus Antoninus.

many new institutions of Lycurgus, the first and most important was that of a *senate;* which sharing, as Plato says,* in the power of the kings, too imperious and unrestrained before, and having equal authority with them, was the means of keeping them within the bounds of moderation, and highly contributed to the preservation of the state. For before it had been veering and unsettled, sometimes inclining to arbitrary power, and sometimes towards a pure democracy; but this establishment of a senate, an intermediate body, like ballast, kept it in a just equilibrium, and put it in a safe posture: *the twenty-eight senators adhering to the kings, whenever they saw the people too encroaching, and, on the other hand, supporting the people, when the kings attempted to make themselves absolute.* This, according to Aristotle, was the number of senators fixed upon, because two of the thirty associates of Lycurgus deserted the business through fear. But Sphærus tells us, there were only twenty-eight at first entrusted with the design. Something, perhaps, there is in its being a perfect number, formed of seven multiplied by four, and withal the first number, after six, that is equal to all its parts. But I rather think, just so many

* The passage to which Plutarch refers, is in Plato's third book of *laws*, where he is examining into the causes of the downfall of states. An Athenian is introduced thus speaking to a Lacedæmonian. "Some god, I believe, in his care for your state, and in his foresight of what would happen, has given you two kings of the same family, in order that reigning jointly, they might govern with the more moderation, and Sparta experience the greater tranquillity. After this, when the regal authority was grown again too absolute and imperious, a divine spirit residing in a human nature (*i. e.* Lycurgus) reduced it within the bounds of equity and moderation, by the wise provision of a senate, whose authority was to be equal to that of the kings." Aristotle finds fault with this circumstance in the institution of the senate, that the senators were to continue for life; for as the mind grows old with the body, he thought it unreasonable to put the fortunes of the citizens into the power of men who through age might become incapable of judging. He likewise thought it very unreasonable that they were not made accountable for their actions. But for the latter inconvenience sufficient provision seems to have been made afterwards, by the institution of the *Ephori*, who had it chiefly in charge to defend the rights of the people; and therefore Plato adds, "A third blessing to Sparta was the prince, who finding the power of the senate and the kings too arbitrary and uncontrouled, contrived the authority of the *Ephori* as a restraint upon it," &c.

senators were created, that, together with the two kings, the whole body might consist of thirty members.

He had this institution so much at heart, that he obtained from Delphi an oracle in its behalf, called *rhetra*, or *the decree*. This was couched in very ancient and uncommon terms, which, interpreted, ran thus: *When you have built a temple to the Syllanian Jupiter, and the Syllanian Minerva,* divided the people into tribes and classes, and established a senate of thirty persons, including the two kings, you shall occasionally summon the people to an assembly between Babyce and Cnacion, and they shall have the determining voice.* Babyce and Cnacion are now called Oenus: But Aristotle thinks, by Cnacion is meant the river, and by Babyce the bridge. Between these they held their assemblies, having neither halls, nor any kind of building for that purpose. These things he thought of no advantage to their councils, but rather a disservice; as they distracted the attention, and turned it upon trifles, on observing the statues and pictures, the splendid roofs, and every other theatrical ornament. The people thus assembled had no right to propose any subject of debate, and were only authorised to ratify or reject what might be proposed to them by the senate and the kings. But because, in process of time, the people, by additions or retrenchments, changed the terms, and perverted the sense of the decrees, the kings Polydorus and Theopompus inserted in the *rhetra* this clause. *If the people attempt to corrupt any law, the senate and chiefs shall retire*: That is, they shall dissolve the assembly, and annul the alterations. And they found means to persuade the Spartans that this too was ordered by Apollo; as we learn from these verses of Tyrtæus:

> Ye sons of Sparta, who at Phœbus' shrine
> Your humble vows prefer, attentive hear
> The god's decision. O'er your beauteous lands
> Two guardian kings, a senate, and the voice
> Of the concurring people, lasting laws
> Shall with joint power establish.

Though the government was thus tempered by Lycurgus, yet soon after it degenerated into an oligarchy,

* As no account can be given of the meaning of the word *Syllanian*, it is supposed it should be either read *Sellasian*, from Sellasia a town of Laconia upon the Eurotas; or else *Hellanian*, as much as to say, the Grecian Jupiter, &c.

whose power was exercised with such wantonness and violence, that it wanted indeed a bridle, as Plato expresses it. This curb they found in the authority of the *Ephori** about a hundred and thirty years after Lycurgus. Elatus was the first invested with this dignity, in the reign of Theopompus; who, when his wife upbraided him, that he would leave the regal power to his children less than he received it, replied, *Nay, but greater, because more lasting.* And in fact, the prerogative, so stript of all extravagant pretensions, no longer occasioned either envy or danger to its possessors. By these means they escaped the miseries which befel the Messenian and Argive kings, who would not in the least relax the severity of their power in favour of the people. Indeed, from nothing more does the wisdom and foresight of Lycurgus appear, than from the disorderly governments, and the bad understanding that subsisted between the kings and people of Messena and Argos, neighbouring states, and related in blood to Sparta. For, as at first they were in all res-

* Herodotus, (l. i. c. 65.) and Xenophon, (*de Repub. Lac.*) tell us, the *Ephori* were appointed by Lycurgus himself. But the account which Plutarch gives us from Aristotle (*Polit.* l. v.) and others, of their being instituted long after, seems more agreeable to reason. For it is not likely, that Lycurgus, who in all things endeavoured to support the aristocracy, and left the people only the right of assenting or dissenting to what was proposed to them, would appoint a kind of tribunes of the people, to be masters as it were both of the kings and the senate. Some, indeed, suppose the *Ephori* to have been at first the king's friends, to whom they delegated their authority, when they were obliged to be in the field. But it is very clear that they were elected by the people out of their own body, and sometimes out of the very dregs of it; for the boldest citizen, whoever he was, was most likely to be chosen to this office, which was intended as a check on the senate and the kings. They were five in number, like the *Quinqueviri* in the republic of Carthage. They were annually elected, and, in order to effect any thing, the unanimous voice of the college was requisite. Their authority, though well designed at first, came at length to be in a manner boundless. They presided in popular assemblies, collected their suffrages, declared war, made peace, treated with foreign princes, determined the number of forces to be raised, appointed the funds to maintain them, and distributed rewards and punishments in the name of the state. They likewise held a court of justice, inquired into the conduct of all magistrates, inspected into the behaviour and education of youth, had a particular jurisdiction over the *Helotes*, and, in short, by degrees, drew the whole administration into their hands. They even went so far as to put king Agis to death under a form of justice, and were themselves at last killed by Cleomenes.

pects equal to her, and possessed of a better country, and yet preserved no lasting happiness, but, through the insolence of the kings and disobedience of the people, were harassed with perpetual troubles, they made it very evident, that it was really a felicity more than human, a blessing from heaven to the Spartans, to have a legislator who knew so well how to frame and temper their government.* But this was an event of a later date.

A second and bolder political enterprise of Lycurgus, was a new division of the lands. For he found a prodigious inequality, the city overcharged with many indigent persons, who had no land, and the wealth centered in the hands of a few. Determined, therefore, to root out the evils of insolence, envy, avarice, and luxury, and those distempers of a state still more inveterate and fatal, I mean poverty and riches, he persuaded them to cancel all former divisions of land, and to make new ones, in such a manner that they might be perfectly equal in their possessions and way of living....Hence, if they were ambitious of distinction they might seek it in virtue, as no other difference was left between them, but that which arises from the dishonour of base actions and the praise of good ones. His proposal was put in practice. He made nine thousand lots for the territory of Sparta, which he distributed among so many citizens, and thirty thousand for the inhabitants of the rest of Laconia. But some say he made only six thousand shares for the city, and that Polydorus added three thousand afterwards: others, that Polydorus doubled the number appointed by Lycurgus, which were only four thousand five hundred. Each lot was capable of producing (one year with another) seventy bushels of grain for each man,† and twelve for each woman, besides a quantity of wine and oil in proportion. Such a provision they thought sufficient for health and a good habit of body, and they wanted nothing more. A

* Whatever Plutarch might mean by ταυτα μεν ην υστερον, it is certain that kingly power was abolished in the states of Messene and Argos long before the time of Lycurgus the lawgiver, and a democracy had taken place in those cities. Indeed, those states experienced great internal troubles, not only while under the government of kings, but when in the form of commonwealths, and never, after the time of Lycurgus, made any figure equal to Lacedæmon.

† By a man is meant a master of a family, whose household was to subsist upon these seventy bushels.

story goes of our legislator, that some time after, returning from a journey through the fields just reaped, and seeing the shocks standing parallel and equal, he smiled, and said to some that were by, *How like is Laconia to an estate newly divided among many brothers!*

After this, he attempted to divide also the moveables, in order to take away all appearance of inequality; but he soon perceived that they could not bear to have their goods directly taken from them, and therefore took another method, counter-working their avarice by a stratagem.* First he stopped the currency of gold and silver coin, and ordered that they should make use of iron money only: then to a great quantity and weight of this he assigned but a very small value; so that to lay up ten *minae*,† a whole room was required, and to remove it, nothing less than a yoke of oxen. When this became current, many kinds of injustice ceased in Lacedæmon. Who would steal or take a bribe, who would defraud or rob, when he could not conceal the booty; when he could neither be dignified by the possession of it, nor if cut in pieces be served by its use? For we are told that when hot, they quenched it in vinegar, to make it brittle and unmalleable, and consequently unfit for any other service. In the next place, he excluded unprofitable and superfluous arts: indeed, if he had not done this, most of them would have fallen of themselves, when the new money took place, as the manufactures could not be disposed of. Their iron coin would not pass in the rest of Greece, but was ridiculed and despised; so that the Spartans had no means of purchasing any foreign or curious wares; nor did any merchant ship unlade in their harbours. There were not even

* For a long time after Lycurgus, the Spartans gloriously opposed the growth of avarice; insomuch, that a young man who had bought an estate at a great advantage, was called to account for it, and a fine set upon him. For, besides the injustice he was guilty of in buying a thing for less than it was worth, they judged that he was too desirous of gain, since his mind was employed in getting, at an age when others think of nothing but spending.

But when the Spartans, no longer satisfied with their own territories (as Lycurgus had enjoined them to be) came to be engaged in foreign wars, their money not being passable in other countries, they found themselves obliged to apply to the Persians, whose gold and silver dazzled their eyes. And their covetousness grew at length so infamous, that it occasioned the proverb mentioned by Plato, *One may see a great deal of money carried into Lacedæmon, but one never sees any of it brought out again.*

† 32*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.* Sterling.

to be found in all their country either sophists, wandering fortune-tellers, keepers of infamous houses, or dealers in gold and silver trinkets, because there was no money. Thus luxury, losing by degrees the means that cherished and supported it, died away of itself: even they who had great possessions, had no advantage from them, since they could not be displayed in public, but must lie useless, in unregarded repositories. Hence it was, that excellent workmanship was shewn in their useful and necessary furniture, as beds, chairs, and tables; and the Lacedæmonian cup called *cothon*, as Critias informs us, was highly valued, particularly in campaigns: for the water which must then of necessity be drank, though it would often otherwise offend the sight, had its muddiness concealed by the colour of the cup, and the thick part stopping at the shelving brim, it came clearer to the lips. Of these improvements the lawgiver was the cause; for the workmen having no more employment in matters of mere curiosity, shewed the excellence of their art in necessary things.

Desirous to complete the conquest of luxury, and exterminate the love of riches, he introduced a third institution, which was wisely enough and ingeniously contrived. This was the use of public tables,* where all were to eat in common of the same meat, and such kinds of it as were appointed by law. At the same time, they were forbidden to eat at home, upon expensive couches and tables, to call in the assistance of butchers and cooks, or to fatten

* Xenophon seems to have penetrated farther into the reason of this institution than any other author, as indeed he had better opportunity to do: the rest only say, that this was intended to repress luxury; but he very wisely remarks, that it was also intended to serve for a kind of school or academy, where the young were instructed by the old, the former relating the great things that had been performed within their memory, and thereby exciting the growing generation to distinguish themselves by performances equally great.

But as it was found impracticable for all the citizens to eat in common, when the number of them came to exceed the number of the lots of land, Dacier thinks it might have been better if the lawgiver had ordained that those public tables should be maintained at the expence of the public, as it was done in Crete. But it must be considered, that, while the discipline of Lycurgus was kept up in its purity, they provided against any inconvenience from the increase of citizens, by sending out colonies, and Lacedæmon was not burdened with poor, till the declension of that state.

like voracious animals in private. For so not only their manners would be corrupted, but their bodies disordered; abandoned to all manner of sensuality and dissoluteness, they would require long sleep, warm baths, and the same indulgence as in perpetual sickness. To effect this was certainly very great; but it was greater still, to secure riches from rapine and from envy, as Theophrastus expresses it, or rather by their eating in common, and by the frugality of their table, to take from riches their very being. For what use or enjoyment of them, what peculiar display of magnificence could there be, where the poor man went to the same refreshment with the rich? Hence the observation, that it was only at Sparta where *Plutus* (according to the proverb) was kept blind, and, like an image, destitute of life or motion. It must further be observed, that they had not the privilege to eat at home, and so to come without appetite to the public repast: they made a point of it to observe any one that did not eat and drink with them, and to reproach him as an intemperate and effeminate person that was sick of the common diet.

The rich, therefore (we are told) were more offended with this regulation than with any other, and, rising in a body, they loudly expressed their indignation: nay, they proceeded so far as to assault Lycurgus with stones, so that he was forced to fly from the assembly and take refuge in a temple. Unhappily, however, before he reached it, a young man named Alcander, hasty in his resentments, though not otherwise ill-tempered, came up with him, and, upon his turning round, struck out one of his eyes with a stick. Lycurgus then stopt short, and, without giving way to passion, shewed the people his eye beat out, and his face streaming with blood. They were so struck with shame and sorrow at the sight, that they surrendered Alcander to him, and conducted him home with the utmost expressions of regret. Lycurgus thanked them for their care of his person, and dismissed them all except Alcander. He took him into his house, but shewed him no ill-treatment either by word or action; only ordering him to wait upon him, instead of his usual servants and attendants. The youth, who was of an ingenious disposition, without murmuring did as he was commanded. Living in this manner with Lycurgus, and having an opportunity to observe the mildness and goodness

of his heart, his strict temperance and indefatigable industry, he told his friends that Lycurgus was not that proud and severe man he might have been taken for, but, above all others, gentle and engaging in his behaviour. This, then, was his chastisement, and this punishment he suffered, of a wild and head-strong young man to become a very modest and prudent citizen. In memory of his misfortune, Lycurgus built a temple to *Minerva Optiletis*, so called by him from a term which the Dorians use for the eye. Yet Dioscorides, who wrote a treatise concerning the Lacedæmonian government, and others, relate, that his eye was hurt, but not put out, and that he built the temple in gratitude to the goddess for his cure. However, the Spartans never carried staves to their assemblies afterwards.

The public repasts were called by the Cretans *Andria;* but the Lacedæmonians styled them *Phiditia*, either from their tendency to *friendship* and mutual benevolence, *phiditia* being used instead of *philitia;* or else from their teaching frugality and *parsimony*, which the word *phcido* signifies. But it is not at all impossible, that the first letter might by some means or other be added, and so *phiditia* take place of *editia*, which barely signifies *eating*. There were fifteen persons to a table, or a few more or less. Each of them was obliged to bring in monthly a bushel of meal, eight gallons of wine, five pounds of cheese, two pounds and a half of figs, and a little money to buy flesh and fish. If any of them happened to offer a sacrifice of first-fruits, or to kill venison, he sent a part of it to the public table: for after a sacrifice or hunting, he was at liberty to sup at home; but the rest were to appear at the usual place. For a long time this eating in common was observed with great exactness: so that when king Agis returned from a successful expedition against the Athenians, and from a desire to sup with his wife, requested to have his portion at home* the *Polemarchs* refused to send it :† nay, when, through resentment, he neglected the day following, to offer the sacrifice

* The kings of Sparta had always double commons allowed them; not that they were permitted to indulge their appetites more than others, but that they might have an opportunity of sharing their portion with some brave man whom they chose to distinguish with that honour.

† The *Polemarchs* were those who had commanded the army under the kings. The principal men in the state always divided the commons.

usual on occasion of victory, they set a fine upon him. Children also were introduced at these public tables, as so many schools of sobriety. There they heard discourses concerning government, and were instructed in the most liberal breeding. There they were allowed to jest without scurrility, and were not to take it ill when the raillery was returned. For *it was reckoned worthy of a Lacedæmonian to bear a jest*: but if any one's patience failed, he had only to desire them to be quiet, and they left off immediately. When they first entered, the oldest man present pointed to the door, and said, *Not a word spoken in this company goes out there.* The admitting of any man to a particular table was under the following regulation. Each member of that small society took a little ball of soft bread in his hand. This he was to drop, without saying a word, into a vessel called *caddos*, which the waiter carried upon his head. In case he approved of the candidate, he did it without altering the figure, if not, he first prest it flat in his hand; for a flatted ball was considered as a negative. And if but one such was found, the person was not admitted, as they thought it proper that the whole company should be satisfied with each other. He who was thus rejected, was said to have no luck in the *caddos*. The dish that was in the highest esteem amongst them was the black broth. The old men were so fond of it, that they ranged themselves on one side and eat it, leaving the meat to the young people. It is related of a king of Pontus,* that he purchased a Lacedæmonian cook, for the sake of this broth. But when he came to taste it, he strongly expressed his dislike; and the cook made answer, *Sir, to make this broth relish, it is nesessary first to bathe in the Eurotas.* After they had drank moderately, they went home without lights. Indeed, they were forbidden to walk with a light either on this or any other occasion, that they might accustom themselves to march in the darkest night boldly and resolutely. Such was the order of their public repasts.

Lycurgus left none of his laws in writing; it was ordered in one of the *Rhetræ* that none should be written. For what he thought most conducive to the virtue and happiness of a city, was principles interwoven with the manners and breeding of the people. These would remain immoveable, as founded in inclination, and be the

* This story is elsewhere told by Plutarch of Dionysius the tyrant of Sicily; and Cicero confirms it, that he was the person.

strongest and most lasting tie ; and the habits which education produced in the youth, would answer in each the purpose of a lawgiver. As for smaller matters, contracts about property, and whatever occasionally varied, it was better not to reduce these to a written form and unalterable method, but to suffer them to change with the times, and to admit of additions or retrenchments at the pleasure of persons so well educated. For he resolved the whole business of legislation into the bringing up of youth. And this, as we have observed, was the reason why one of his ordinances forbad them to have any written laws.

Another ordinance levelled against magnificence and expence, directed, that the ceilings of houses should be wrought with no tool but the ax, and the doors with nothing but the saw. For, as Epaminondas is reported to have said afterwards, of his table, *Treason lurks not under such a dinner*, so Lycurgus perceived before him, that such a house admits not of luxury and needless splendor. Indeed, no man could be so absurd, as to bring into a dwelling so homely and simple, bedsteads with silver feet, purple coverlets, golden cups, and a train of expence that follows these : but all would necessarily have the bed suitable to the room, the coverlet to the bed, and the rest of their utensils and furniture to that. From this plain sort of dwellings, proceeded the question of Leotychidas the elder to his host, when he supped at Corinth, and saw the ceiling of the room very splendid and curiously wrought, *Whether trees grew square in his country.**

A third ordinance of Lycurgus was, that they should not often make war against the same enemy, lest, by being frequently put upon defending themselves, they too should become able warriors in their turn. And this they most blamed king Agesilaus for afterwards, that by frequent and continued incursions into Bœotia,† he taught the Thebans to make head against the Lacedæmonians. This made Antalcidas say, when he saw him wounded, *The Thebans pay you well for making them good soldiers, who neither were willing nor able to fight you before.* These

* This is rendered by the former English translator, as if Leotychidas's question proceeded from ignorance, whereas it was really an arch sneer upon the sumptuous and expensive buildings of Corinth.

† This appeared plainly at the battle of Leuctra, where the Lacedæmonians were overthrown by Epaminondas, and lost their king Cleombrotus, together with the flower of their army.

ordinances he called *Rhetræ*, as if they had been oracles and decrees of the Deity himself.

As for the education of youth, which he looked upon as the greatest and most glorious work of a lawgiver, he began with it at the very source, taking into consideration their conception and birth, by regulating the marriages. For he did not (as Aristotle says) desist from his attempt to bring the women under sober rules. They had, indeed, assumed great liberty and power on account of the frequent expeditions of their husbands, during which they were left sole mistresses at home, and so gained an undue deference and improper titles; but, notwithstanding this, he took all possible care of them. He ordered the virgins to exercise themselves in running, wrestling, and throwing quoits and darts; that their bodies being strong and vigorous, the children afterwards produced from them might be the same; and that, thus fortified by exercise, they might the better support the pangs of child-birth, and be delivered with safety. In order to take away the excessive tenderness and delicacy of the sex, the consequence of a recluse life, he accustomed the virgins occasionally to be seen naked as well as the young men, and to dance and sing in their presence on certain festivals. There they sometimes indulged in a little raillery upon those that had misbehaved themselves, and sometimes they sung encomiums on such as deserved them, thus exciting in the young men an useful emulation and love of glory. For he who was praised for his bravery, and celebrated among the virgins, went away perfectly happy: while their satirical glances thrown out in sport, were no less cutting than serious admonitions; especially as the kings and senate went with the other citizens to see all that passed. As for the virgins appearing naked, there was nothing disgraceful in it, because every thing was conducted with modesty, and without one indecent word or action. Nay it caused a simplicity of manners and an emulation for the best habit of body; their ideas too were naturally enlarged, while they were not excluded from their share of bravery and honour. Hence they were furnished with sentiments and language, such as Gorgo the wife of Leonidas is said to have made use of. When a woman of another country said to her, *You of Lacedæmon are the only women in the world that rule the men*; she answered, *We are the only women that bring forth men.*

These public dances and other exercises of the young maidens naked, in sight of the young men, were, moreover, incentives to marriage ; and, to use Plato's expression, drew them almost as necessarily by the attractions of love, as a geometrical conclusion follows from the premises. To encourage it still more, some marks of infamy were set upon those that continued bachelors.* For they were not permitted to see these exercises of the naked virgins : and the magistrates commanded them to march naked round the market-place in the winter, and to sing a song composed against themselves, which expressed how justly they were punished for their disobedience to the laws. They were also deprived of that honour and respect which the younger people paid to the old ; so that nobody found fault with what was said to Dercyllidas, though an eminent commander. It seems, when he came one day into company, a young man, instead of rising up and giving him place, told him, *You have no child to give place to me, when I am old.*

In their marriages, the bridegroom carried off the bride by violence ; and she was never chosen in a tender age, but when she had arrived at full maturity. Then the woman that had the direction of the wedding, cut the bride's hair close to the skin, dressed her in man's clothes, laid her upon a mattrass, and left her in the dark. The bridegroom, neither opprest with wine, nor enervated with luxury, but perfectly sober, as having always supped at the common table, went in privately, untied her girdle, and carried her to another bed. Having stayed there a short time, he modestly retired to his usual apartment, to sleep with the other young men : and he observed the same conduct afterwards, spending the day with his companions, and reposing himself with them in the night, nor even visiting his bride but with great caution and apprehensions of being discovered by the rest of the family ; the bride at the same time exerted all her art to contrive convenient opportunities for their private meetings. And this they did not for a short time only, but some of them,

* The time of marriage was fixed ; and, if a man did not marry when he was of full age, he was liable to a prosecution , as were such also who married above or below themselves. Such as had three children had great immunities ; and those that had four were free from all taxes. Virgins were married without portions, because neither want should hinder a man, nor riches induce him, to marry contrary to his inclinations.

even had children, before they had an interview with their wives in the day-time. This kind of commerce not only exercised their temperance and chastity, but kept their bodies fruitful, and the first ardour of their love fresh and unabated; for as they were not satiated like those that are always with their wives, there still was place for unextinguished desire. When he had thus established a proper regard to modesty and decorum with respect to marriage, he was equally studious to drive from that state the vain and womanish passion of jealousy; by making it quite as reputable to have children in common with persons of merit, as to avoid all offensive freedom in their own behaviour to their wives. He laughed at those who revenge with wars and bloodshed the communication of a married woman's favours; and allowed, that if a man in years should have a young wife, he might introduce to her some handsome and honest young man, whom he most approved of, and when she had a child of this generous race, bring it up as his own. On the other hand, he allowed, that if a man of character should entertain a passion for a married woman on account of her modesty and the beauty of her children, he might treat with her husband for admission to her company,* that so planting in a beauty bearing-soil, he might produce excellent children,† the congenial offspring of excellent parents. For in the first place Lycurgus considered children, not so much the property of their parents, as of the state; and therefore he would not have them begot by ordinary persons, but by the best men in it. In the next place, he observed the vanity and absurdity of other nations, where people study to have their horses and dogs of the finest breed they can procure, either by interest or money; and yet keep their wives shut up, that they may have children by none but themselves, though they may happen to be doating, decrepid, or infirm. As if children, when sprung from a bad stock, and consequently good for nothing, were no detriment to those whom they belong to, and who have the trouble of bringing them up, nor any advantage, when well-descended and of a generous disposition These

* In this case the kings were excepted; for they were not at liberty to lend their wives.

† The English translation, published in 1758, has here, *to possess all the valuable qualifications of their parents*, which is not the meaning of αλλων ὁμοιους και συγγενεις εσομενους.

regulations tending to secure a healthy offspring, and consequently beneficial to the state, were so far from encouraging that licentiousness of the women which prevailed afterwards, that adultery was not known amongst them. A saying, upon this subject, of Geradus an ancient Spartan, is thus related. A stranger had asked him, *What punishment their law appointed for adulterers?* He answered, *My friend, there are no adulterers in our country.* The other replied, *But what if there should be one? Why then*, says Geradus, *he must forfeit a bull so large that he might drink of the Eurotas from the top of Mount Taygetus.* When the stranger expressed his surprise at this, and said, *How can such a bull be found?* Geradus answered with a smile, *How can an adulterer be found in Sparta?* This is the account we have of their marriages.

It was not left to the father to rear what children he pleased, but he was obliged to carry the child to a place called *Lesche*, to be examined by the most ancient men of the tribe, who were assembled there. If it was strong and well proportioned, they gave orders for its education, and assigned it one of the nine thousand shares of land: but if it was weakly and deformed, they ordered it to be thrown into the place called *Apothetæ*, which is a deep cavern near the mountain Taygetus; concluding that its life could be no advantage either to itself or to the public, since nature had not given it at first any stength or goodness of constitution.* For the same reason the women did not wash their new-born infants with water, but with wine, thus making some trial of their habit of body; imagining that sickly and epileptic children sink and die under the experiment, while the healthy become more vigorous and hardy. Great care and art was also exerted by the nurses, for, as they never swathed the infants, their limbs had a freer turn, and their countenances a more liberal air; besides, they used them to any sort of meat, to have no terrors in the dark, nor to be afraid of being alone, and to leave all ill-humour and unmanly crying.

* The general expediency of this law may be well disputed, though it suited the martial constitution of Sparta; since many persons of weak constitutions make up in ingenuity what they want in strength, and so become more valuable members of the community than the most robust. It seems, however, to have had one good effect, *viz.* making women very careful during their pregnancy, of either eating, drinking, or exercising, to excess. It made them also excellent nurses, as is observed just below.

Hence people of other countries purchased Lacedæmonian nurses for their children; and Alcibiades the Athenian is said to have been nursed by Amycla a Spartan. But if he was fortunate in a nurse, he was not so in a preceptor; for Zopyrus, appointed to that office by Pericles, was, as Plato tells us, no better qualified than a common slave. The Spartan children were not in that manner, under tutors purchased or hired with money, nor were the parents at liberty to educate them as they pleased: But as soon as they were seven years old, Lycurgus ordered them to be enrolled in companies, where they were all kept under the same order and discipline, and had their exercises and recreations in common. He who shewed the most conduct and courage amongst them, was made captain of the company. The rest kept their eyes upon him, obeyed his orders, and bore with patience the punishments he inflicted: so that their whole education was an exercise of obedience. The old men were present at their diversions, and often suggested some occasion of dispute or quarrel, that they might observe with exactness the spirit of each, and their firmness in battle.

As for learning,* they had just what was absolutely necessary. All the rest of their education was calculated to make them subject to command, to endure labour, to fight and conquer. They added, therefore, to their discipline, as they advanced in age; cutting their hair very close, making them go barefoot, and play, for the most

* The plainness of their manners, and their being so very much addicted to war, made the Lacedæmonians less fond of the sciences than the rest of the Greeks If they wrote to be read, and spoke to be understood, it was all they sought. For this the Athenians, who were excessively vain of their learning, held them in great contempt; insomuch that Thucydides himself, in drawing the character of Brasidas, says, *he spoke well enough for a Lacedæmonian.* On this occasion, it is proper to mention the answer of a Spartan to a learned Athenian, who upbraided him with the ignorance of his country. *All you say may be true, and yet it amounts to no more, than that we only amongst the Greeks have learned no evil customs from you.* The Spartans, however, had a force and poignancy of expression, which cut down all the flowers of studied elegance. This was the consequence of their concise way of speaking, and their encouraging on all occasions, decent repartee. Arts were in no greater credit with them than sciences. Theatrical diversions found no countenance; temperance and exercise made the physician unnecessary; their justice left no room for the practice of the lawyer; and all the trades that minister to luxury, were unknown. As for agriculture, and such mechanic business as was absolutely necessary, it was left to the slaves.

part quite naked. At twelve years of age, their under garment was taken away, and but one upper one a year allowed them. Hence they were necessarily dirty in their persons, and not indulged the great favour of baths and oil, except on some particular days of the year. They slept in companies, on beds made of the tops of reeds, which they gathered with their own hands, without knives, and brought them from the banks of the Eurotas. In winter they were permitted to add a little thistle-down as that seemed to have some warmth in it.

At this age, the most distinguished amongst them became favourite companions of the elder;* and the old men attended more constantly their places of exercise, observing their trials of strength and wit, not slightly and in a cursory manner, but as their fathers, guardians, and governors: so that there was neither time nor place, where persons were wanting to insruct and chastise them. One of the best and ablest men in the city was, moreover, appointed inspector of the youth; and he gave the command of each company to the discreetest and most spirited of those called *Irens*. An *Iren* was one who had been two years out of the class of boys: a *Melliren* one of the oldest lads. This *Iren*, then, a youth twenty years old, gives orders to those under his command, in their little battles, and has them to serve him at his house. He sends the oldest of them to fetch wood, and the younger to gather pot-herbs: these they steal where they can find them,† either slyly getting into gardens, or else craftily and warily

* Though the youth of the male-sex were much cherished and beloved, as those that were to build up the future glory of the state; yet, in Sparta, it was a virtuous and modest affection, untinged with that sensuality which was so scandalous at Athens and other places. Xenophon says, these lovers lived with those they were attached to, as a father does with his children, or a brother with his brethren. The good effects of this part of Lycurgus's institutions were seen in the union that reigned among the citizens.

† Not that the Spartans authorized thefts and robberies; for as all was in common in their republic, those vices could have no place there. But the design was to accustom children who were destined for war, to surprize the vigilance of those who watched over them, and expose themselves courageously to the severest punishments, in case they failed of that dexterity which was exacted of them. A dexterity that would have been attended with fatal effects to the morals of any youth but the Spartan, educated, as that was, to condemn riches and superfluities and guarded in all other respects by the severest virtue.

creeping to the common tables. But if any one be caught, he is severely flogged for negligence or want of dexterity. They steal too whatever victuals they possibly can, ingeniously contriving to do it when persons are asleep, or keep but indifferent watch. If they are discovered, they are punished not only with whipping, but with hunger. Indeed their supper is but slender at all times, that, to fence against want, they may be forced to exercise their courage and address. This is the first intention of their spare diet: a subordinate one is, to make them grow tall. For when the animal spirits are not too much oppressed by a great quantity of food, which stretches itself out in breadth and thickness, they mount upwards by their natural lightness, and the body easily and freely shoots up in height. This also contributes to make them handsome: for thin and slender habits yield more freely to nature, which then gives a fine proportion to the limbs; whilst the heavy and gross resist her by their weight. So women that take physic during their pregnancy, have slighter children indeed, but of a finer and more delicate turn, because the suppleness of the matter more readily obeys the plastic power. However, these are speculations which we shall leave to others.

The boys steal with so much caution, that one of them, having conveyed a young fox under his garment, suffered the creature to tear out his bowels with his teeth and claws, choosing rather to die than to be detected. Nor does this appear incredible, if we consider what their young men can indure to this day; for we have seen many of them expire under the lash at the altar of * *Diana Orthia*.

The *Iren*, reposing himself after supper, used to order one of the boys to sing a song; to another he put some question which required a judicious answer: for example, *Who was the best man in the city?* or, *What he thought*

* This is supposed to be the Diana *Taurica*, whose statue Orestes is said to have brought to Lacedæmon, and to whom human victims were offered. It is pretended that Lycurgus abolished these sacrifices, and substituted in their room the flagellation of young men, with whose blood the altar was, at least, to be sprinkled. But, in truth, a desire of overcoming all the weaknesses of human nature, and thereby rendering his Spartans not only superior to their neighbours, but to their species, runs through many of the institutions of Lycurgus; which principle, if well attended to, thoroughly explains them, and without attending to which it is impossible to give any account at all of some of them.

of such an action? This accustomed them from their childhood to judge of the virtues, to enter into the affairs of their countrymen. For if one of them was asked, Who is a good citizen, or who an infamous one, and hesitated in his answer, he was considered as a boy of slow parts, and of a soul that would not aspire to honour. The answer was likewise to have a reason assigned for it, and proof conceived in few words. He whose account of the matter was wrong, by way of punishment, had his thumb bit by the *Iren*. The old men and magistrates often attended these little trials, to see whether the *Iren* exercised his authority in a rational and proper manner. He was permitted, indeed, to inflict the penalties; but when the boys were gone, he was to be chastised himself, if he had punished them either with too much severity or remissness.

The adopters of favourites also shared both in the honour and disgrace of their boys: and one of them is said to have been mulcted by the magistrates, because the boy whom he had taken into his affections, let some ungenerous word or cry escape him, as he was fighting. This love was so honourable and in so much esteem, that the virgins too had their lovers amongst the most virtuous matrons. A competition of affection caused no misunderstanding, but rather a mutual friendship between those that had fixed their regards upon the same youth, and an united endeavour to make him as accomplished as possible.

The boys were also taught to use sharp repartee, seasoned with humour, and whatever they said was to be concise and pithy. For Lycurgus, as we have observed, fixed but a small value on a considerable quantity of his iron money; but on the contrary, the worth of speech was to consist in its being comprised in a few plain words, pregnant with a great deal of sense: and he contrived that by long silence they might learn to be sententious and accute in their replies. As debauchery often causes weakness and sterility in the body, so the intemperance of the tongue makes conversation empty and insipid. King Agis, therefore, when a certain Athenian laughed at the Lacedæmonian short words, and said, *The jugglers would swallow them with ease upon the stage*, answered in his Laconic way, *And yet we can reach our enemies hearts with them.* Indeed, to me there seems to be something in this concise

manner of speaking, which immediately reaches the object aimed at, and forcibly strikes the mind of the hearer. Lycurgus himself was short and sententious in his discourse, if we may judge by some of his answers which are recorded; that, for instance, concerning the constitution. When one advised him to establish a popular government in Lacedæmon, *Go*, said he, *and first make a trial of it in thy own family*. That again, concerning sacrifices to the Deity, when he was asked why he appointed them so trifling and of so little value, *That we may never be in want*, says he, *of something to offer him*. Once more, when they inquired of him, what sort of martial exercises he allowed of, he answered, *All, except those in which you stretch* out your hands*. Several such-like replies of his are said to be taken from the letters which he wrote to his countrymen: as to their question, "How shall we best guard against the invasion of an enemy?" *By continuing poor, and not desiring in your possessions to be one above another*. And to the question, whether they should inclose Sparta with walls, *That city is well fortified, which has a wall of men instead of brick*. Whether these and some other letters ascribed to him are genuine or not, is no easy matter to determine. However, that they hated long speeches, the following apopthegms are a farther proof. King Leonidas said to one who discoursed at an improper time about affairs of some concern, *My friend, you should not talk so much to the purpose, of what it is not the purpose to talk of*. Charilaus, the nephew of Lycurgus, being asked why his uncle had made so few laws, answered, *To men of few words few laws are sufficient*. Some people finding fault with Hecatæus the sophist, because when admitted to one of the public repasts, he said nothing all the time, Archidamidas replied, *He who knows how to speak, knows also when to speak*.

The manner of their repartees, which, as I said, were seasoned with humour, may be gathered from these instances. When a troublesome fellow was pestering Demaratus with impertinent questions, and this in particular several times repeated, "Who is the best man in Sparta?" He answered, *He that is least like you*. To some who were commending the Eleans for managing the Olympic games with so much justice and propriety, Agis said,

* This was the form of demanding quarter in battle.

What great matter is it, if the Eleans do justice once in five years? When a stranger was professing his regard for Theopompus, and saying that his own countrymen called him *Philolacon* (a lover of the Lacedæmonians) the king answered him, *My good friend, it were much better, if they called you Philopolites* (a lover of your own countrymen.) Plistonax, the son of Pausanias, replied to an orator of Athens, who said the Lacedæmonians had no learning, *True, for we are the only people of Greece that have learnt no ill of you.* To one who asked what number of men there was in Sparta, Archidamidas said, *Enough to keep bad men at a distance.*

Even when they indulged a vein of pleasantry, one might perceive, that they would not use one unnecessary word, nor let an expression escape them that had not some sense worth attending to. For one being asked to go and hear a person who imitated the nightingale to perfection, answered, *I have heard the nightingale herself.* Another said, upon reading this epitaph,

> Victims of Mars, at Selinus they fell,
> Who quench'd the rage of tyranny.——

"And they deserved to fall, for, instead of *quenching* it, they should have let it *burn out.*" A young man answered one that promised some game cocks that would stand their death, *Give me those that will be the death of others.* Another seeing some people carried into the country in litters said, *May I never sit in any place where I cannot rise before the aged!* This was the manner of their apopthegms: so that it has been justly enough observed that the term *lakonizein* (to act the Lacedæmonian) is to be referred rather to the exercises of the mind, than those of the body.

Nor were poetry and music less cultivated among them, than a concise dignity of expression. Their songs had a spirit, which could rouse the soul, and impel it in an enthusiastic manner to action. The language was plain and manly, the subject serious and moral. For they consisted chiefly of the praises of heroes that had died for Sparta, or else of expressions of detestation for such wretches as had declined the glorious opportunity, and rather chose to drag on life in misery and contempt. Nor did they forget to express an ambition for glory suitable to their

respective ages. Of this it may not be amiss to give an instance. There were three choirs on their festivals, corresponding with the three ages of man. The old men began,

> Once in battle bold we shone;

the young men answered,

> Try us; our vigour is not gone;

and the boys concluded,

> The palm remains for us alone.

Indeed, if we consider with some attention such of the Lacedæmonian poems as are still extant, and get into those airs which are played upon the flute when they march to battle, we must agree, that Terpander* and Pindar have very fitly joined valour and music together. The former thus speaks of Lacedæmon,

> There gleam's the youth's bright falchion; there the muse
> Lifts her sweet voice; there awful Justice opes
> Her wide pavilion.

And Pindar sings,

> There in grave council sits the sage;
> There burns the youth's resistless rage
> To hurl the quiv'ring lance;
> The muse with glory crowns their arms,
> And melody exerts her charms,
> And Pleasure leads the dance.

Thus we are informed, not only of their warlike turn, but their skill in music. For, as the Spartan poet says,

> To swell the bold notes of the lyre,
> Becomes the warrior's lofty fire.

And the king always offered sacrifice to the muses † before a battle, putting his troops in mind, I suppose, of their early education and of the judgment that would

* Terpander was a poet and musician too, (as indeed they of those times were in general) who added three strings to the harp, which till then had but four. He flourished about a hundred and twenty years after Homer.

† Xenophon says, the king who commanded the army, sacrificed to Jupiter and Minerva on the frontier of the kingdom. Probably the muses were joined with Minerva the patroness of science.

be past upon them; as well as those divinities might teach them to despise danger, while they performed some exploit fit for *them* to celebrate.

On those occasions * they relaxed the severity of their discipline, permitting their men to be curious in dressing their hair, and elegant in their arms and apparel, while they expressed their alacrity, like horses full of fire, and neighing for the race. They let their hair, therefore, grow from their youth, but took more particular care, when they expected an action, to have it well-combed and shining; remembering a saying of Lycurgus, that *a large head of hair made the handsome more graceful, and the ugly more terrible.* The exercises, too, of the young men, during the campaigns, were more moderate, their diet not so hard, and their whole treatment more indulgent: so that they were the only people in the world, with whom military discipline wore, in the time of war, a gentler face than usual. When the army was drawn up, and the enemy near, the king sacrificed a goat, and commanded them all to set garlands upon their heads, and the musicians to play *Castor*'s march, while himself began the *pæan*, which was the signal to advance. It was at once a solemn and dreadful sight, to see them measuring their steps to the sound of music, and without the least disorder in their ranks or tumult of spirits, moving forward cheerfully and composedly, with harmony, to battle. Neither fear nor rashness was likely to approve men so disposed, possessed as they were of a firm presence of mind, with courage and confidence of success, as under the conduct of heaven. When the king advanced against the enemy, he had always with him some one that had been crowned in the public games of Greece. And they tell us, that a

* The true reason of this was, in all probability, that war might be less burthensome to them; for to render them bold and warlike was the reigning passion of the legislator. Under this article we may add, that they were forbidden to remain long encamped in the same place, as well to hinder their being surprised, as that they might be more troublesome to their enemies, by wasting every corner of their country. They were also forbidden to fight the same enemy often. They slept all night in their armour; but their out-guards were not allowed their shields, that, being unprovided of defence, they might not dare to sleep. In all expeditions they were careful in the performance of religious rites; and, after their evening meal was over, the soldiers sung together hymns to their gods.

Lacedæmonian, when large sums were offered him on condition that he would not enter the Olympic lists, refused them: having with much difficulty thrown his antagonist, one put this question to him, "Spartan what "will you get by this victory?" he answered with a smile, *I shall have the honour to fight foremost in the ranks, before my prince.* When they had routed the enemy, they continued the pursuit till they were assured of the victory: after that they immediately desisted; deeming it neither generous nor worthy of a Grecian, to destroy those who made no farther resistance. This was not only a proof of magnanimity, but of great service to their cause. For when their adversaries found that they killed such as stood it out, but spared the fugitives, they concluded it was better to fly than to meet their fate upon the spot.

Hippias the sophist tells us, that Lycurgus himself was a man of great personal valour, and an experienced commander.* Philostephanus also ascribes to him the first division of the cavalry into troops of fifty, who were drawn up in a square body. But Demetrius the Phalerean says, that he never had any military employment, and that there was the profoundest peace imaginable when he established the constitution of Sparta. His providing for a cessation of arms during the Olympic games, is likewise a mark of the humane and peaceable man. Some, however, acquaint us, and, among the rest, Hermippus, that Lycurgus at first had no communication with Iphetus; but coming that way, and happening to be a spectator, he heard behind him a human voice (as he thought) which expressed some wonder and displeasure that he did not put his countrymen upon resorting to so great an assembly. He turned round immediately, to discover whence the voice came, and as there was no man to be seen, concluded it was from Heaven. He joined Iphetus, therefore; and ordering along with him, the ceremonies of the festival, rendered it more magnificent and lasting.

The discipline of the Lacedæmonians continued after they were arrived at years of maturity. For no man was at liberty to live as he pleased, the city being like one great camp, where all had their stated allowance, and

* Xenophon, in his treatise of the Spartan commonwealth, says, Lycurgus brought military discipline to great perfection, and gives us a detail of his regulations and improvements in the art of war; some of which I have mentioned in the foregoing note.

knew their public charge, *each man concluding that he was born, not for himself, but for his country.* Hence, if they had no particular orders, they employed themselves in inspecting the boys, and teaching them something useful, or in learning of those that were older than themselves. One of the greatest privileges that Lycurgus procured his countrymen, was, the enjoyment of leisure, the consequence of his forbidding them to exercise any mechanic trade. It was not worth their while to take great pains to raise a fortune, since riches there was of no account: and the *Helotes*, who tilled the ground, were answerable for the produce above-mentioned. To this purpose we have a story of a Lacedæmonian, who happening to be at Athens while the court sat, was informed of a man who was fined for idleness: and when the poor fellow was returning home in great dejection, attended by his condoling friends, he desired the company to shew him the person that was *condemned for keeping up his dignity.* So much beneath them they reckoned all attention to mechanic arts and all desire of riches!

Law-suits were banished from Lacedæmon with money. The Spartans knew neither riches nor poverty, but possessed an equal competency, and had a cheap and easy way of supplying their few wants. Hence, when they were not engaged in war, their time was taken up with dancing, feasting, hunting, or meeting to exercise, or converse. They went not to market under thirty years of age,* all their necessary concerns being managed by their relations and adopters. Nor was it reckoned a credit to the old to be seen sauntering in the market-place; it was deemed more suitable for them to pass great part of the day in the schools of exercise, or places of conversation. Their discourse seldom turned upon money or business or trade, but upon the praise of the excellent, or the contempt of the worthless; and the last was expressed with that pleasantry and humour, which conveyed instruction and correction without seeming to intend it. Nor was Lycurgus himself immoderately severe in his manner; but as Sosibius tells us, he dedicated a little

* This also is said to have been the age when they began to serve in the army. But as they were obliged to forty years service before the law exempted them from going into the field, I incline to the opinion of those writers who think that the military age is not well ascertained.

statue to the god of laughter, in each hall. He considered facetiousness as a seasoning of their hard exercise and diet, and therefore ordered it to take place on all proper occasions, in their common entertainments and parties of pleasure.

Upon the whole, he taught his citizens to think nothing more disagreeable than to live by (or for) themselves. Like bees, they acted with one impulse for the public good, and always assembled about their prince. They were possessed with a thirst of honour, an enthusiasm bordering upon insanity, and had not a wish but for their country. These sentiments are confirmed by some of their aphorisms. When Pædaretus lost his election for one of the *three hundred*, he went away *rejoicing that there were three hundred better men than himself found in the city.** Pisistratidas going with some others, ambassador to the king of Persia's lieutenants, was asked whether they came with a public commission, or on their own account; to which he answered, *If successful, for the public; if unsuccessful, for ourselves.* Agrileonis, the mother of Brasidas,† asking some Amphipolitans that waited upon her at her house, whether Brasidas died honourably and as became a Spartan; they greatly extolled his merit, and said, there was not such a man left in Sparta: whereupon she replied, *Say not so, my friends; for Brasidas was indeed a man of honour, but Lacedæmon can boast of many better men than he.*

The senate, as I said before, consisted at first of those that were assistants to Lycurgus in his great enterprize. Afterwards, to fill up any vacancy that might happen, he ordered the most worthy man to be selected, of those that were full threescore years old. This was the most respectable dispute in the world, and the contest was truly glorious: for it was not who should be swiftest among the swift, or strongest of the strong, but who was the wisest and best among the good and wise. He who had the preference was to bear this mark of superior excellence through life, this great authority, which put into

* Xenophon says, it was the custom for the *ephori* to appoint three officers, each of whom was to select an hundred men, the best he could find; and it was a point of great emulation to be one of these three hundred.

† Brasidas the Lacedæmonian general defeated the Athenians in a battle fought near Amphipolis a town of Macedonia on the banks of the Strymon, but lost his life in the action. THUCYDID, lib. v.

his hands the lives and honour of the citizens, and every other important affair. The manner of the election was this. When the people were assembled, some persons appointed for the purpose were shut up in a room near the place; where they could neither see nor be seen, and only hear shouts of the constituents :* for by them they decided this and most other affairs. Each candidate walked silently through the assembly, one after another according to lot. Those that were shut up had writing tables, in which they set down in different columns the number and loudness of the shouts, without knowing who they were for; only they marked them as first, second, third, and so on, according to the number of competitors. He that had the most and loudest acclamations, was declared duly elected. Then he was crowned with a garland, and went round to give thanks to the gods; a number of young men followed, striving which should extol him most, and the women celebrated his virtues in their songs, and blessed his worthy life and conduct. Each of his relations offered him a repast, and their address on the occasion was, *Sparta honours you with this collation.* When he had finished the procession, he went to the common table, and lived as before. Only two portions were set before him, one of which he carried away: and as all the women related to him attended at the gates of the public hall, he called her for whom he had the greatest esteem, and presented her with the portion, saying at the same time, *That which I received as a mark of honour, I give to you.* Then she was conducted home with great applause by the rest of the women.

Lycurgus likewise made good regulations with respect to burials. In the first place, to take away all superstition, he ordered the dead to be buried in the city, and even permitted their monuments to be erected near the temples; accustoming the youth to such sights from their infancy, that they might have no uneasines from them, nor any horror for death, as if people were polluted with the touch of a dead body, or with treading upon a grave. In the next place, he suffered nothing to be buried with

* As this was a tumultuary and uncertain way of deciding who had the majority, they were often obliged to separate the people and count the votes. Aristotle thinks that in such a case persons should not offer themselves candidates, or solicit the office or employment, but be called to it merely for their abilities and their merit.

the corpse, except the red cloth and the olive leaves in which it was wrapt.* Nor would he suffer the relations to inscribe any names upon the tombs, except of those men that fell in battle, or those women who died in some sacred office. He fixed eleven days for the time of mourning: on the twelfth they were to put an end to it after offering sacrifice to Ceres. No part of life was left vacant and unimproved, but even with their necessary actions he interwove the praise of virtue and the contempt of vice: and he so filled the city with living examples, that is was next to impossible, for persons who had these from their infancy before their eyes, not to be drawn and formed to honour.

For the same reason he would not permit all that desired it, to go abroad and see other countries, lest they should contract foreign manners, gain traces of a life of little discipline, and of a different form of government. He forbade strangers too,† to resort to Sparta, who could not assign a good reason for their coming; not, as Thucydides says, out of fear they should imitate the constitution of that city, and make improvements in virtue, but lest they should teach his own people some evil. For along with foreigners come new subjects of discourse;‡ new discourse produces new opinions; and from these there necessarily spring new passions and desires, which, like discords in music, would disturb the established government. He, therefore, thought it more expedient for the city, to keep out of it corrupt customs and manners, than even to prevent the introduction of a pestilence.

Thus far, then, we can perceive no vestiges of a disregard to right and wrong, which is the fault some people find with the laws of Lycurgus, allowing them well enough

* Ælian tells us (l. vi. c. 6.), that not all the citizens indifferently were buried in the red cloth and olive leaves, but only such as had distinguished themselves particularly in the field.

† He received with pleasure such strangers as came and submitted to his laws, and assigned them shares of land, which they could not alienate. Indeed, the lots of all the cizens were unalienable.

‡ Xenophon, who was an eye-witness, imputes the changes in the Spartan discipline to foreign manners. But in fact they had a deeper root. When the Lacedæmonians, instead of keeping to their lawgiver's injunction, only to defend their own country, and to make no conquests, carried their victorious arms all over Greece and into Asia itself, then foreign gold and foreign manners came into Sparta, corrupted the simplicity of its institutions, and at last overturned that republic.

calculated to produce valour, but not to promote justice. Perhaps it was the *Cryptia*,* as they called it, or *ambuscade*, if that was really one of this lawgiver's institutions, as Aristotle says it was, which gave Plato so bad an impression both of Lycurgus and his laws. The governors of the youth ordered the shrewdest of them from time to time to disperse themselves in the country, provided only with daggers and some necessary provisions. In the day time they hid themselves, and rested in the most private places they could find, but at night they sallied out into the roads and killed all the *Helotes* they could meet with. Nay, sometimes by day, they fell upon them in the fields, and murdered the ablest and strongest of them. Thucydides relates in his history of the Peloponnesian war, that the Spartans selected such of them as were distinguished for their courage, to the number of two thousand or more, declared them free, crowned them with garlands, and conducted them to the temples of the gods; but soon after they all disappeared; and no one could, either then or since, give account in what manner they were destroyed. Aristotle particularly says, that the *Ephori*, as soon as they were invested in their office, declared war against the *Helotes*, that they might be massa-

* The cruelty of the Lacedæmonians towards the *Helotes*, is frequently spoken of, and generally decried by all authors; though Plutarch, who was a great admirer of the Spartans, endeavours to palliate it as much as may be. These poor wretches were marked out for slaves in their dress, their gesture, and, in short, in every thing. They wore dog-skin bonnets and sheep-skin vests; they were forbidden to learn any liberal art, or to perform any act worthy of their master. Once a day they received a certain number of stripes, for fear they should forget they were slaves; and, to crown all, they were liable to this *cryptia*, which was sure to be executed on all such as spoke, looked, or walked like freemen; a cruel and unnecessary expedient, and unworthy of a virtuous people. The *Ephori*, indeed, declared war against them. Against whom? why against poor naked slaves, who tilled their lands, dressed their food, and did all those offices for them, which they were too proud to do for themselves. Plutarch, according to custom, endeavours to place all this cruelty far lower than the times of Lycurgus; and alledges that it was introduced on account of the *Helotes* joining with the Messenians after a terrible earthquake, that happened about 467 years before the birth of Christ, whereby a great part of Lacedæmon was overthrown, and in which above twenty thousand Spartans perished. But Ælian tells us expressly (Hist. Var. l. iii) that it was the common opinion in Greece, that this very earthquake was a judgment from heaven upon the Spartans for treating these *Helotes* with such inhumanity.

cred under pretence of law. In other respects they treated them with great inhumanity: sometimes they made them drink till they were intoxicated, and in that condition led them into the public halls, to shew the young men what drunkenness was. They ordered them too to sing mean songs, and to dance ridiculous dances, but not to meddle with any that were genteel and graceful. Thus they tell us, that when the Thebans afterwards invaded Laconia, and took a great number of the Helotes prisoners, they ordered them to sing the odes of Terpander, Aleman, or Spendon the Lacedæmonian, but they excused themselves, alleging that it was forbidden by their masters. Those who say, that a freeman in Sparta was most a freeman, and a slave most a slave, seem well to have considered the difference of states. But in my opinion, it was in after times that these cruelties took place among the Lacedæmonians; chiefly after the great earthquake, when, as history informs us, the *Helotes*, joining the Messenians, attacked them, did infinite damage to the country, and brought the city to the greatest extremity. I can never ascribe to Lycurgus so abominable an act as that of the *ambuscade*. I would judge in this case by the mildness and justice which appeared in the rest of his conduct, to which also the gods gave their sanction.

When his principal institutions had taken root in the manners of the people, and the government was come to such maturity as to be able to support and preserve itself, then, as Plato says of the Deity, that he rejoiced when he had created the world, and given it its first motion; so Lycurgus was charmed with the beauty and greatness of his political establishment, when he saw it exemplified in fact and move on in due order. He was next desirous to make it immortal, so far as human wisdom could effect it, and to deliver it down unchanged to the latest times. For this purpose he assembled all the people, and told them, the provisions he had already made for the state were indeed sufficient for virtue and happiness, but the greatest and most important matter was still behind, which he could not disclose to them till he had consulted the oracle; that they must therefore inviolably observe his laws, without altering any thing in them, till he returned from Delphi; and then he would acquaint them with the pleasure of Apollo. When they had all promised to do so, and desired him to set forward, he took an oath of the kings and

senators, and afterwards of all the citizens, that they would abide by the present establishment till Lycurgus came back. He then took his journey to Delphi.

When he arrived there, he offered sacrifice to the gods, and consulted the oracle, whether his laws were sufficient to promote virtue, and secure the happiness of the state. Apollo answered, that the laws were excellent, and that the city which kept to the constitution he had established would be the most glorious in the world. This oracle Lycurgus took down in writing, and sent it to Sparta. He then offered another sacrifice, and embraced his friends and his son, determined never to release his citizens from their oath, but voluntarily there to put a period to his life ;* while he was yet of an age when life was not a burden, when death was not desirable, and while he was not unhappy in any one circumstance. He, therefore, destroyed himself by abstaining from food, persuaded that the very death of lawgivers should have its use, and their exit, so far from being insignificant, have its share of virtue and be considered as a great action. To him indeed whose performances were so illustrious, the conclusion of life was the crown of happiness, and his death was left guardian of those invaluable blessings he had procured his countrymen through life, as they had taken an oath not to depart from his establishment till his return. Nor was he deceived in his expectations. Sparta continued superior to the rest of Greece both in its government at home and reputation abroad, so long as it retained the institution of Lycurgus ; and this it did during the space of five hundred years, and the reign of fourteen successive kings down to Agis the son of Archidamus. As for the appointment of the *Ephori*, it was so far from weakening the constitution, that it gave it additional vigour, and though it seemed to be established in favour of the people, it strengthened the aristocracy.†

But in the reign of Agis money found its way into Sparta, and with money came its inseparable attendant, avarice. This was by means of Lysander ; who, though himself

* Yet Lucian says that Lycurgus died at the age of 85.

† After all this pompous account, Plutarch himself acknowledges that authors are not well agreed, how and where this great man died. That he starved himself is improbable ; but that he returned no more to his country, seems to be perfectly agreeable to his manner of acting, as well as to the current of history.

incapable of being corrupted by money, filled his country with the love of it and with luxury too. He brought both gold and silver from the wars,* and thereby broke through the laws of Lycurgus. While these were in force, Sparta was not so much under the political regulations of a commonwealth, as the strict rules of a philosophic life: and as the poets feign of Hercules, that only with a club and lion's skin he travelled over the world, clearing it of lawless ruffians and cruel tyrants; so the Lacedæmonians with a peice of † parchment and coarse coat kept Greece in a voluntary obedience, destroyed usurpation and tyranny in the states, put an end to wars, and laid seditions asleep, very often without either shield or lance, and only by sending one ambassador; to whose directions all parties concerned immediately submitted. Thus bees, when their prince appears, compose their quarrels and unite in one swarm. So much did justice and good government prevail in that state, that I am surprised at those who say, the Lacedæmonians knew indeed how to obey, but not how to govern; and on this occasion quote the saying of king Theopompus, who, when one told him, that *Sparta was preserved by the good administration of its kings*, replied, *Nay, rather by the obedience of their subjects*. It is certain that people will not continue pliant to those who

* Xenophon acquaints us, that when Lysander had taken Athens, he sent to Sparta many rich spoils and 470 talents of silver. The coming of this huge mass of wealth created great disputes at Sparta. Many celebrated Lysander's praises, and rejoiced exceedingly at this good fortune, as they called it; others, who were better acquainted with the nature of things, and with their constitution, were of quite another opinion: they looked upon the receipt of this treasure as an open violation of the laws of Lycurgus; and they expressed their apprehensions loudly, that, in process of time, they might, by a change in their manners, pay infinitely more for this money than it was worth. The event justified their fears.

† This was the *scytale*, the nature and use of which Plutarch explains in the life of Lysander. He tells us, that when the magistrates gave their commission to any admiral or general, they took two round pieces of wood, both exactly equal in breadth and thickness; (Thucydides adds, that they were smooth and long); one they kept themselves, the other was delivered to their officer. When they had any thing of moment, which they would secretly convey to him, they cut a long narrow scroll of parchment, and rolling it about their own staff, one fold close upon another, they wrote their business on it: when they had wrote what they had to say, they took off the parchment, and sent it to the general; and he applying it to his own staff, the characters, which before were confused and unintelligible, appeared then very plainly.

know not how to command : but it is the part of a good governor to teach obedience. He who knows how to lead well, is sure to be well followed : and as it is by the art of horsemanship that a horse is made gentle and tractable, so it is by the abilities of him that fills the throne that the people become ductile and submissive. Such was the conduct of the Lacedæmonians, that people did not only endure, but even desired to be their subjects. They asked not of them, either ships, money, or troops, but only a Spartan general. When they had received him, they treated him with the greatest honour and respect : so Gylippus was revered by the Sicilians, Brasidas by the Chalcidians, Lysander, Callicratidas and Agesilaus by all the people of Asia. These, and such as these, wherever they came, were called moderators and reformers, both of the magistrates and people, and Sparta itself was considered as a school of discipline, where the beauty of life and political order were taught in the utmost perfection. Hence Stratonicus seems facetiously enough to have said, that he would order *the Athenians to have the conduct of mysteries and processions ; the Eleans to preside in games, as their particular province ; and the Lacedæmonians to be beaten, if the others did amiss.** This was spoken in jest : but Antisthenes, one of the scholars of Socrates, said (more seriously) of the Thebans, when he saw them pluming themselves upon their success at Leuctra, *They were just like so many school boys rejoicing that they had beaten their master.*

It was not, however, the principal design of Lycurgus, that his city should govern many others, but he considered its *happiness*, like that of a private man, as *flowing from virtue and self-consistency ;* he therefore so ordered and disposed it, that by the freedom and sobriety of its inhabitants, and their having a sufficiency within themselves, its continuance might be the more secure. Plato, Diogenes, Zeno, and other writers upon government, have taken Lycurgus for their model ; and these have attained great praise, though they left only an idea of something

* Because the teachers should be answerable for the faults of their pupils. The pleasantry of the observation seems to be this. That as the Lacedæmonians used to punish the parents or adopters of those young people that behaved amiss ; now that they were the instructors of other nations, they should suffer for their faults. Bryan's Latin text has it, that the Lacedæmonians *should beat them*.—But there is no joke in that.

excellent. Yet he who not in idea and in words, but in fact produced a most inimitable form of government, and by shewing a whole city of philosophers,* confounded those who imagine that the so much talked of strictness of a philosophic life is impracticable; he, I say, stands in the rank of glory far before the founders of all the other Grecian states.† Therefore Aristotle is of opinion, that the honours paid him in Lacedæmon were far beneath his merit. Yet those honours were very great; for he has a temple there, and they offer him a yearly sacrifice, as a god. It is also said, that when his remains were brought home, his tomb was struck with lightning: a seal of divinity which no other man, however eminent, has had, except Euripides, who died and was buried at Arethusa in Macedonia. This was matter of great satisfaction and triumph to the friends of Euripides, that the same thing should befal him after death, which had formerly happened to the most venerable of men, and the most favoured of heaven. Some say, Lycurgus died at Cirrha; but Apollothemis will have it, that he was brought to Elis and died there; and Timæus and Aristoxenus write, that he ended his days in Crete; nay, Aristoxenus adds, that the Cretans shew his tomb at Pergamia, near the high road. We are told, he left an only son named Antiorus: and as he died without issue, the family was extinct. His friends and relations observed his anniversary, which subsisted for many ages, and the days on which they met for that purpose they called *Lycurgidæ*. Aristocrates, the son of Hipparchus, relates, that the friends of Lycurgus, with whom he sojourned, and at last died in Crete, burned his body, and, at his request, threw his ashes into the sea. Thus he guarded against the possibility of his remains being brought back to Sparta by the Lacedæmonians, lest

* Aristotle and Plato differ in this from Plutarch. Even Polybius, who was so great an admirer of the Spartan government, allows, that, though the Spartans considered as individuals, were wise and virtuous, yet in their collective capacity they paid but little regard to justice and moderation.

† Solon, though a person of a different temper, was no less disinterested than Lycurgus. He settled the Athenian commonwealth, refused the sovereignty when offered him, travelled to avoid the importunities of his countrymen, opposed tyranny in his old age, and when he found his oppositions vain, went into voluntary exile. Lycurgus and Solon were both great men; but the former had the stronger, the latter the milder genius: the effects of which appeared in the commonwealths they founded.

they should then think themselves released from their oath, on the pretence that he was returned, and make innovations in the government. This is what we had to say of Lycurgus.

NUMA.

THERE is likewise a great diversity amongst historians about the time in which king Numa lived, though some families seem to trace their genealogy up to him with sufficient accuracy. However, a certain writer called Clodius, in his emendation of chronology, affirms, that the ancient archives were destroyed when Rome was sacked by the Gauls; and that those which are now shewn as such, were forged in favour of some persons who wanted to stretch their lineage far back, and to deduce it from the most illustrious houses. Some say, that Numa was the scholar of Pythagoras;* but others contend, that he was unacquainted with the Grecian literature, either alleging, that his own genius was sufficient to conduct him to excellence, or that he was instructed by some *barbarian* philosopher superior to Pythagoras. Some, again, affirm, that Pythagoras of Samos flourished about five generations below the times of Numa: but that Pythagoras the Spartan, who won the prize at the Olympic race in the sixteenth Olympiad (about the third year of which it was that Numa came to the throne) travelling into Italy, became acquainted with that prince, and assisted him in regulating the government. Hence many Spartan customs, taught by Pythagoras, were intermixed with the Roman. But this mixture might have another cause, as Numa was of Sabine extraction, and the Sabines declare themselves to have been a Lacedæmonian colony.† It is

* Pythagoras the philosopher went not into Italy till the reign of the elder Tarquin, which was in the fifty-first Olympiad, and four generations (as Dionysius of Halicarnassus tells us) after Numa.

† The same Dionysius informs us, that he found in the history of the Sabines, that, while Lycurgus was guardian to his nephew Euromus (Charilaus it should be) some of the Lacedæmonians, unable to endure the severity of his laws, fled into Italy, and settled first at Pometia; from whence several of them removed into the

difficult however, to adjust the times exactly, particularly those that are only distinguished with the names of the Olympic conquerors; of which, we are told, Hippias, the Elean, made a collection at a late period, without sufficient vouchers. We shall now relate what we have met with most remarkable concerning Numa, beginning from that point of time which is most suitable to our purpose.

It was in the thirty-seventh year from the building of Rome, and of the reign of Romulus, on the seventh of the month of July (which day is now called *Nonæ Caprotinæ*) when that prince went out of the city to offer a solemn sacrifice at a place called the *Goats-Marsh*, in the presence of the senate and great part of the people. Suddenly there happened a great alteration in the air, and the clouds burst in a storm of wind and hail. The rest of the assembly were struck with terror and fled, but Romulus disappeared, and could not be found either alive or dead. Upon this, the senators fell under a violent suspicion, and a report was propagated against them among the people, that having long been weary of the yoke of kingly government, and desirous to get the power into their own hands, they had murdered the king. Particularly as he had treated them for some time in an arbitrary and imperious manner. But they found means to obviate this suspicion, by paying divine honours to Romulus as a person that had been privileged from the fate of other mortals, and was only removed to a happier scene. Moreover, Proculus, a man of high rank, made oath that he saw Romulus carried up to heaven in complete armour, and heard a voice commanding that he should be called *Quirinus*.

Fresh disturbances and tumults arose in the city about the election of a new king, the later inhabitants being not yet thoroughly incorporated with the first, the commonalty fluctuating and unsettled in itself, and the patricians full of animosity and jealousies of each other. All, indeed, agreed that a king should be appointed, but they differed and debated, not only about the person to be fixed upon, but from which of the two nations he should be elected. For neither could they who with Romulus built

country of the Sabines, and, uniting with that people, taught them their customs; particularly those relating to the conduct of war, to fortitude, patience, and a frugal and abstemious manner of living. This colony, then, settled in Italy 120 years before the birth of Numa.

the city, endure, that the Sabines, who had been admitted citizens, and obtained a share of the lands, should attempt to command those from whom they had received such privileges; nor yet could the Sabines depart from their claim of giving a king in their turn to Rome, having this good argument in their favour, that, upon the death of Tatius, they had suffered Romulus peaceably to enjoy the throne, without a colleague. It was also to be considered, that they did not come as inferiors to join a superior people, but by their rank and number added strength and dignity to the city that received them. These were the arguments on which they founded their claims. Lest this dispute should produce an utter confusion, whilst there was no king, nor any steersman at the helm, the senators made an order that the hundred and fifty members who composed their body,* should each, in their turns, be attired in the robes of state; in the room of *Quirinus*, offer the stated sacrifices to the gods, and dispatch the whole public business, six hours in the day, and six hours at night. This distribution of time, seemed well contrived, in point of equality amongst the regents, and the change of power from hand to hand prevented its being obnoxious to the people, who saw the same person in one day and one night reduced from a king to a private man. This occasional administration the Romans call an *Interregnum*.

But though the matter was managed in this moderate and popular way, the senators could not escape the suspicions and complaints of the people, that they were changing the government into an oligarchy, and, as they had the direction of all affairs in their hands, were unwilling to have a king. At last it was agreed between the two parties, that one nation should choose a king out of the whole body of the other. This was considered as

* According to our author in the life of Romulus, the number of the senators was 200. Indeed, Dionysius says, that writers differed in this particular, some affirming, that 100 senators were added to the original number upon the union of the Sabines with the Romans; and others, that only fifty were added. Livy gives the most probable account of the manner of the *Interregnum*. The senators, he says, divided themselves into decuries or tens. These decuries drew lots which should govern first; and the decury, to whose lot it fell, enjoyed the supreme authority for five days; yet, in such a manner, that one person only of the governing decury had the ensigns of sovereignty at a time.

the best means of putting a stop to the present contention, and of inspiring the king with an affection for both parties, since he would be gracious to these, because they had elected him, and to those as his kindred and countrymen. The Sabines leaving the Romans to their option, they preferred a Sabine king of their own electing, to a Roman chosen by the Sabines. Consulting, therefore, among themselves*, they fixed upon Numa Pompilius, a Sabine, who was not of the number of those that had migrated to Rome, but so celebrated for virtue, that the Sabines received the nomination even with greater applause than the Romans themselves. When they had acquainted the people with their resolution, they sent the most eminent personages of both nations ambassadors, to intreat him to come and take upon him the government.

Numa was of Cures, a considerable city of the Sabines, from which the Romans, together with the incorporated Sabines, took the name of *Quirites*. He was the son of a person of distinction named Pomponius, and the youngest of four brothers. It seemed to be by the direction of the gods, that he was born the twenty-first of April, the same day that Rome was founded by Romulus. His mind was naturally disposed to virtue; and he still farther subdued it by discipline, patience, and philosophy; not only purging it of the grosser and more infamous passions, but even of that ambition and rapaciousness which was reckoned honourable amongst the *barbarians;* persuaded that true fortitude consists in the conquest of appetites by reason. On this account, he banished all luxury and splendor from his house; and both the citizens and strangers found in him a faithful counsellor, and an upright judge. As for his hours of leisure, he spent them not in the pursuits of pleasure, or schemes of profit, but in the worship of the gods, and in rational inquiries into their nature and their power. His name became at length so illustrious, that Tatius, who was the associate of Romulus in the kingdom, having an only daughter named Tatia, bestowed her

* The *interrex*, for the time being, having summoned the people, addressed them thus: "Romans, elect yourselves a king; the senate "give their consent; and, if you choose a prince worthy to succeed "Romulus, the senate will confirm your choice." The people were so well pleased with this condescension of the senate, that they remitted the choice to them.

upon him. He was not, however, so much elated with this match as to remove to the court of his father-in-law, but continued in the country of the Sabines, paying his attentions to his own father, who was now grown old. Tatia was partaker of his retirement, and preferred the calm enjoyment of life with her husband in privacy, to the honours and distinction in which she might have lived with her father at Rome. Thirteen years after their marriage she died.

Numa then left the society of the city, and passed his time in wandering about alone in the sacred groves and lawns, in the most retired and solitary places. Hence the report concerning the goddess Egeria chiefly took its rise;* and it was believed that it was not from any inward sorrow or melancholy turn that he avoided human conversation, but from his being admitted to that which was more venerable and excellent, from the honour he had of a familiar intercourse with a divinity that loved him, which led him to happiness and knowledge more than mortal. It is obvious enough, how much this resembles many of the ancient stories received and delivered down by the Phrygians of Atys,† the Bythenians of Herodotus, and the Arcadians of Endymion; to whom might be added many others, who were thought to have attained to superior felicity, and to be beloved in an extraordinary manner by the gods. And, indeed, it is rational enough to suppose, that the deity would not place his affection upon horses or birds, but rather upon human beings, emi-

* Numa's inclination to solitude, and his custom of retiring into the secret places of the forest of Aricia, gave rise to several popular opinions. Some believed, that the nymph Egeria herself dictated to him the laws, both civil and religious, which he established. And, indeed, he declared so himself, in order to procure a divine sanction to them. But, as no great man is without aspersions, others have thought, that, under this affected passion for woods and caves, was concealed another more real and less chaste. This gave occasion to that sarcasm of Juvenal, in speaking of the grove of Egeria, (*Sat.* iii. ver. 12.)

Hic ubi nocturnæ Numæ constituebat amicæ.

Ovid says, that to remove her grief for the loss of Numa, Diana changed her into a fountain which still bears her name. *Metam.* l. xv.

† Atys was said to be beloved by the goddess Cybele, and Endymion by Diana; but we believe there is no where else any mention made of this Herodotus, or Rhodotus, as Dacier from his manuscript calls him.

nently distinguished by virtue; and that he neither dislikes nor disdains to hold conversation with a man of wisdom and piety. But that a *divinity* should be captivated with the external beauty of any human body, is irrational to believe. The Egyptians, indeed, make a distinction in this case, which they think not an absurd one, that it is not impossible for a woman to be impregnated by the approach of some divine spirit; but that a man can have no corporeal intercourse with a goddess. But they do not, however, consider that a mixture, be it of what sort it may, equally communicates its being. In short, the regard which the gods have for men, though, like a human passion, it be called love, must be employed in forming their manners, and raising them to higher degrees of virtue. In this sense we may admit the assertion of the poets, that Phorbas,* Hyacinthus, and Admetus, were beloved by Apollo; and that Hippolytus, the Sicyonian, was equally in his favour; so that whenever he sailed from Cirrha to Sicyon, the priestess, to signify Apollo's satisfaction, repeated this heroic verse;

He comes, again the much-loved hero comes.

It is also fabled, that Pan was in love with Pindar† on account of his poetry; and that Archilochus and Hesiod,‡

* Phorbas was the son of Triopas, king of Argos. He delivered the Rhodians from a prodigious number of serpents that infested their island, and particularly from one furious dragon that had devoured a great many people. He was, therefore, supposed to be dear to Apollo, who had slain the Python. After his death he was placed in the heavens, with the dragon he had destroyed, in the constellation *Ophiucus*, or *Surpentarius*.

Hyacinthus was the son of Amyclas, founder of the city of Amyclæ, near Sparta. He was beloved by Apollo and Zephyrus, and was killed in a fit of jealousy by the latter, who, with a puff of wind, caused a quoit thrown by Apollo to fall upon his head. He was changed into a flower which bears his name. *Vide* PAUSAN. de Laconic. l. iii. et OVID. Metam. l. x. fab. 5.

Admetus was the son of Pheres, king of Thessaly. It is said that Apollo kept his sheep.

† Pindar had a particular devotion for the god Pan, and therefore took up his abode near the temple of Rhea and Pan. He composed the hymns which the Theban virgins sung on the festival of that deity; and, it is said, he had the happiness to hear Pan himself singing one of his odes.

‡ Archilochus was slain by a soldier of Naxos, who was obliged by the priestess of Apollo to make expiation for having killed a man consecrated to the muses.——As for Hesiod, the Orchomenians, a

after their death, were honoured by the heavenly powers for the same reason. Sophocles, too, (as the story goes) was blessed in his life-time with the conversation of the god Æsculapius, of which many proofs still remain; and another deity procured him burial.* Now, if we admit that these were so highly favoured, shall we deny that Zaleucus,† Minos, Zoroaster, Numa, and Lycurgus, kings and lawgivers, were happy in the same respect? Nay, rather, we shall think, that the gods might seriously converse with such excellent persons as these, to instruct and encourage them in their great attempts; whereas, if they indulged poets and musicians in the same grace, it must be by way of diversion. To such as are of another opinion, I shall say, however, with Bacchylides, *The way is broad.* For it is no unplausible account of the matter which others give, when they tell us, that Lycurgus, Numa, and other great men, finding their people difficult to manage, and alterations to be made in their several governments, pretended commissions from heaven, which were salutary, at least to those for whom they were invented.

Numa was now in his fortieth year, when ambassadors came from Rome to make him an offer of the kingdom. The speakers were Proculus and Velesus, whom the people before had cast their eyes upon for the royal dignity, the Romans being attached to Proculus, and the Sabines to Velesus. As they imagined that Numa would gladly embrace his good fortune, they made but a short speech. They found it, however, no easy matter to persuade him, but were obliged to make use of much intreaty to draw him from that peaceful retreat he was so fond of, to the government of a city born, as it were, and brought up in war. In the presence, therefore, of his father, and one of his kinsmen, named Marcius, he gave them this

people of Bœotia, being terribly afflicted by a plague, were ordered by the oracle to remove the bones of that poet, from Naupactus in Ætolia, into their country.

* Sophocles died at Athens, while Lysander was carrying on the siege of the city; and Bacchus is said to have appeared to the Spartan general in a dream, and ordered him to permit the new Athenian Syren to be buried at Decelea.

† Zaleucus gave laws to the Locrians in Magna Græcia; Zoroaster, one of the *magi*, and king of the Bactrians, to his own subjects; and Minos to the people of Crete.

answer; "Every change of human life has its dangers; but when a man has a sufficiency for every thing, and there is nothing in his present situation to be complained of, what but madness can lead him from his usual track of life, which, if it has no other advantage, has that of certainty, to experience another as yet doubtful and unknown? But the dangers that attend this government are beyond an uncertainty, if we may form a judgment from the fortunes of Romulus, who laboured under the suspicion of taking off Tatius, his colleague, and was supposed to have lost his own life with equal injustice. Yet Romulus is celebrated as a person of divine origin, as supernaturally nourished, when an infant, and most wonderfully preserved. For my part, I am only of mortal race, and you are sensible my nursing and education boast of nothing extraordinary. As for my character, if it has any distinction, it has been gained in a way not likely to qualify me for a king, in scenes of repose and employments by no means arduous. My genius is inclined to peace, my love has long been fixed upon it, and I have studiously avoided the confusion of war: I have also drawn others, so far as my influence extended, to the worship of the gods, to mutual offices of friendship, and to spend the rest of their time in tilling the ground, and feeding cattle. The Romans may have unavoidable wars left upon their hands by their late king, for the maintaining of which you you have need of another more active and more enterprising. Besides the people are of a warlike disposition, spirited with success, and plainly enough discover their inclination to extend their conquests. Of course, therefore, a person who has set his heart upon the promoting of religion and justice, and drawing men off from the love of violence and war, would soon become ridiculous and contemtible to a city that has more occasion for a general than a king."

Numa, in this manner declining the crown, the Romans, on the other hand, exerted all their endeavours to obviate his objections, and begged of him not to throw them into confusion and civil war again, as there was no other whom both parties would unanimously elect. When the ambassadors had retired, his father and his friend Marcius privately urged him, by all the arguments in their power, to

receive this great and valuable gift of heaven. "If contented, said they, with a competence, you desire not riches, nor aspire after the honour of sovereignty, having a higher and better distinction in virtue; yet consider that a king is the minister of God, who now awakens, and puts in action your native wisdom and justice; decline not, therefore, an authority, which to a wise man is a field for great and good actions; where dignity may be added to religion, and men may be brought over to piety, in the easiest and readiest way, by the influence of the prince. Tatius, though a stranger, was beloved by this people, and they pay divine honours to the memory of Romulus. Besides, who knows, as they are victorious, but they may be satiated with war, and having no farther wish for triumphs and spoils, may be desirous of a mild and just governor for the establishment of good laws, and the settling of peace? But should they be ever so ardently inclined to war, yet is it not better to turn their violence another way, and to be the centre of union and friendship between the country of the Sabines, and so great and flourishing a state as that of Rome?" These inducements we are told, were strengthened by auspicious omens, and by the zeal and ardour of his fellow-citizens, who as soon as they had learned the subject of the embassy, went in a body to entreat him to take the government upon him, as the only means to appease all dissension, and effectually incorporate the two nations into one.

When he had determined to go, he offered sacrifice to the gods, and then set forward to Rome. Struck with love and admiration of the man, the senate and people met him on the way; the women welcomed him with blessings and shouts of joy; the temples were crowned with sacrifices; and so universal was the satisfaction, that the city might seem to have received a kingdom, instead of a king. When they were come into the *Forum*, Spurius Vettius, whose turn it then was to be *Interrex*, put it to the vote, whether Numa should be king, and all the citizens agreed to it with one voice. The robes and other distinctions of royalty then were offered him, but he commanded them to stop, as his authority yet wanted the sanction of heaven. Taking therefore, with him the priests and *augurs*, he went up to the *Capitol*, which the

Romans at that time called the *Tarpeian* rock. There the chief of the *augurs* covered the head of Numa,* and turned his face towards the south; then standing behind him, and laying his right hand upon his head, he offered up his devotions, and looked around him, in hopes of seeing birds, or some other signal from the gods. An incredible silence reigned among the people, anxious for the event, and lost in suspence, till the auspicious birds appeared and passed on the right hand. Then Numa took the royal robe, and went down from the mount to the people, who received him with loud acclamations, as the most pious of men, and most beloved of the gods.

His first act of government was to discharge the body of three hundred men, called *Celeres*,† whom Romulus always kept about his person as guards; for he neither chose to distrust those who put a confidence in him, nor to reign over a people that could distrust him. In the next place, to the priests of Jupiter and Mars he added one for Romulus, whom he styled *Flamen Quirinalis*. *Flamines* was a common name for priests before that time, and it is said to have been corrupted from *Pilamines*, a term derived from *Piloi*, which in Greek signifies *caps*,‡ (for they wore, it seems, a kind of caps or hoods;) and the Latin language had many more Greek words mixed with it then, than it has at this time. Thus royal mantles were by the Romans called *Kænæ*, which Juba assures us was from the Greek *Chlænæ*, and the name

* So it is in the text of Plutarch, as it now stands; but it appears from Livy, that the *augur* covered his own head, not that of Numa, *Augur ad lævam ejus, capite velato, sedem cepit*, &c. And indeed, the augur always covered his head in a gown peculiar to his office, called *Læna*, when he made his observations. Mezeray reconciles these writers and removes the seeming mistake of Plutarch, by a reading which Francis Robortel had found in an ancient manuscript, τον μεν εις μεσιεμβριαν τρεψας, εγκεκαλυμμενος αυτος, και παραξας εξονιδεν. If this be considered only as an emendation, it is a very good one.

† Numa did not make use of them as guards, but as inferior ministers, who were to take care of the sacrifices, under the direction of the tribunes, who had commanded them in their military capacity.

‡ Others think they took their names from the flame-coloured tufts they had on their caps. They were denominated from the particular god to whom their ministry was confined, as *Flamen Dialis*, the Priest of Jupiter; *Flamen Martialis*, the Priest of Mars.

of *Camillus*,* given to the youth who served in the temple of Jupiter, and who was to have both his parents alive, was the same which some of the Greeks give to Mercury, on account of his being an attendant of that god.

Numa having settled these matters with a view to establish himself in the people's good graces, immediately after attempted to soften them, as iron is softened by fire, and to bring them from a violent and warlike disposition, to a juster and more gentle temper. For, if any city ever was *in a state of inflammation*, as Plato expresses it, Rome certainly was, being composed at first of the most hardy and resolute men, whom boldness and despair had driven thither from all quarters, nourished and grown up to power by a series of wars, and strengthened even by blows and conflicts, as piles fixed in the ground become firmer under the strokes of the rammer. Persuaded that no ordinary means were sufficient to form and reduce so high-spirited and untractable a people to mildness and peace, he called in the assistance of religion. By sacrifices, religious dances, and processions, which he appointed, and wherein himself officiated, he contrived to mix the charms of festivity and social pleasure with the solemnity of the ceremonies. Thus he soothed their minds, and calmed their fierceness and martial fire. Sometimes also, by acquainting them with prodigies from heaven, by reports of dreadful apparitions and menacing voices, he inspired them with terror, and humbled them with superstition. This was the principal cause of the report, that he drew his wisdom from the sources of Pythagoras: For a great part of the philosophy of the latter, as well as the government of the former, consisted in religious attentions and the worship of the gods. It is likewise said, that this solemn appearance and air of sanctity, was copied from Pythagoras. That Philosopher had so far tamed an eagle, that, by pronouncing certain words, he could stop it in its flight, or bring it down; and passing through the multitudes assembled at the Olym-

* Camillus is derived from the Bœotic καδμιλος, which properly signifies a servitor. In every temple there was a youth of quality, whose business it was to minister to the priest. It was necessary that the father and mother of the youth should be both alive; for which reason Plutarch makes use of the word αμφιθαλη, which the Latins call *patrimum et matrimum*.

pic games, he shewed them his golden thigh; besides ther arts and actions, by which he pretended to something supernatural. This led Timon the Phliasian to write,

> To catch applause Pythagoras affects
> A solemn air and grandeur of expression.

But Numa feigned that some goddess or mountain nymph, favoured him with her private regards, (as we have already observed) and that he had moreover frequent conversations with the muses. To the latter he ascribed most of his revelations; and there was one in particular that he called *Tacita*, as much as to say, the *muse of silence*,* whom he taught the Romans to distinguish with their veneration. By this, too, he seemed to shew his knowledge and approbation of the Pythagorean precept of silence.

His regulations concerning images seem likewise to have some relation to the doctrine of Pythagoras; who was of opinion that the First Cause was not an object of sense, nor liable to passion, but invisible, incorruptible, and discernible only by the mind. Thus Numa forbade the Romans to represent the Deity in the form either of man or beast. Nor was there among them formerly any image or statue of the Divine Being: During the first hundred and seventy years they built temples, indeed, and other sacred domes, but placed in them no figure of any kind; persuaded that it was impious to represent things divine by what is perishable, and that we can have no conception of God but by the understanding. His sacrifices, too, resembled the Pythagorean worship: For they were without any effusion of blood, consisting chiefly of flour, libations of wine, and other very simple and unexpensive things.

To these arguments other circumstances are added, to prove that these two great men were acquainted with each other. One of which is, that Pythagoras was enrolled a citizen of Rome. This account we have in an address

* The common reading of the text is, οἷον σιωπηλην η νεαν. the word νεαν signifies young; but it should undoubtedly be read ενεαν *silent*, *mute*, not only from the analogy of the sense, and the conjecture of Stephens, but on the authority of a manuscript. In the city of Erythræ, there was a temple of Minerva, where the priestess was called *Hesychia*, that is, *the composed*, *the silent*.

to Antenor from Epicharmus, a writer of comedy, and a very ancient author, who was himself of the school of Pythagoras.* Another is, that Numa having four sons,† called one of them Mamercus, after the name of a son of Pythagoras. From him too, they tell us, the Æmilian family is descended, which is one of the noblest in Rome; the king having given him the surname of Æmilius, on account of his graceful and engaging manner of speaking. And I have myself been informed by several persons in Rome, that the Romans being commanded by the oracle to erect two statues,‡ one to the wisest, and the other to the bravest of the Grecians, set up in brass the figures of Pythagoras and Alcibiades. But as these matters are very dubious, to support or refute them farther would look like the juvenile affectation of dispute.

To Numa is attributed the institution of that high order of priests called *Pontifices*,|| over which he is said to have presided himself. Some say, they were called, *Pon-*

*As Πυθαγορικης διατριβης μετοχηκως, does not necessarily signify *scholar to Pythagoras*, we have rendered it *of the school of Pythagoras*, or *a Pythagorean*, to avoid involving Plutarch in a glaring anachronism. According to the *Marmora Oxon.* Epicharmus flourished in the year before Christ 472; and it is certain it must have been about that time, because he was at the court of Hiero.

† Some writers, to countenance the vanity of certain noble families in Rome, in deducing their genealogy from Numa, have given that prince four sons. But the common opinion is, that he had only one daughter, named Pompilia. The Æmilii were one of the most considerable families in Rome, and branched into the Lepidi, the Pauli, and the Papi. The word *Aimulus* or *Æmylus*, in Greek, signifies *gentle, graceful.*

‡ Pliny tells us, (l. xxxiv. c. 5.) it was in the time of their war with the Samnites, that the Romans were ordered to set up these statues; that they were accordingly placed in the *comitium*; and that they remained there till the dictatorship of Sylla. The oracle, by this direction, probably intimated, that the Romans, if they desired to be victorious, should imitate the wisdom and valour of the Greeks.

|| Numa created four, who were all patricians. But, in the year of Rome 453 or 454, four plebeians were added to the number. The king himself is here asserted to have been the chief of them, or *pontifex maximus*; though Livy attributes that honour to another person of the same name, *viz.* Numa Marcius, the son of Marcius, one of the senators. It seems, however, not improbable, that Numa, who was of so religious a turn, reserved the chief dignity in the priesthood to himself, as kings had done in the first ages of the world, and as the emperors of Rome did afterwards.

tifices, as employed in the service of those *powerful* gods that govern the world; for *potens* in the Roman language signifies *powerful*. Others, from their being ordered by the lawgiver to perform such secret offices as were in their *power*, and standing excused when there was some great impediment. But most writers assign a ridiculous reason for the term, as if they were called *Pontifices* from their offering sacrifices upon the *bridge*, which the Latins call *pontem*, such kind of ceremonies it seems being looked upon as the most sacred, and of greatest antiquity. These priests, too, are said to have been commissioned to keep the bridges in repair, as one of the most indispensable parts of their holy office. For the Romans considered it as an execrable impiety to demolish the wooden bridge; which, we are told, was built without iron, and put together with pins of wood only, by the direction of some oracle. The stone bridge was built many ages after, when Æmilius was quæstor. Some, however, inform us, that the wooden bridge was not constructed in the time of Numa, having the last hand put to it by Ancus Marcius, who was grandson to Numa by his daughter.

The *pontifex maximus*, chief of these priests, is interpreter of all sacred rites, or rather a superintendant of religion, having the care not only of public sacrifices, but even of private rites and offerings, forbidding the people to depart from the stated ceremonies, and teaching them how to honour and propitiate the gods. He had also the inspection of the holy virgins called *Vestals*. For to Numa is ascribed the sacred establishment of the vestal virgins, and the whole service with respect to the perpetual fire, which they watch continually. This office seems appropriated to them, either because fire, which is of a pure and incorruptible nature, should be looked after by persons untouched and undefiled, or else because virginity, like fire is barren and unfruitful. Agreeably to this last reason, at the places in Greece, where the sacred fire is preserved undistinguished, as at Delphi and Athens, not virgins, but widows past child-bearing, have the charge of it. If it happens by any accident to be put out, as the sacred lamp is said to have been at Athens, under the tyranny of Aristion;* at Delphi, when the

* This Aristion held out a long time against Sylla, who besieged and took Athens in the time of the Mithridatic war. Aristion himself

temple was burnt by the Medes; and at Rome, in the Mithridatic war, as also in the civil war,* when not only the fire was extinguished, but the altar overturned; it is not to be lighted again from another fire, but new fire is to be gained by drawing a pure and unpolluted flame from the sun-beams. They kindle it generally with concave vessels of brass, formed by the Conic section of a rectangled triangle, whose lines from the circumference meet in one central point. This being placed against the sun, causes its rays to converge in the centre, which, by reflection, acquiring the force and activity of fire, rarefy the air, and immediately kindle such light and dry matter as they think fit to apply.† Some are of opinion, that the sacred virgins have the care of nothing but the perpetual fire. But others say they have some private rites besides, kept from the sight of all but their own body, concerning which I have delivered in the life of Camillus, as much as it was proper to inquire into or declare.

It is reported that at first only two virgins were consecrated by Numa, whose names were Gegania and Verania; afterwards two others Canuleia and Tarpeia; to whom Servius added two more; and that number has continued to this time. The *vestals* were obliged by the king to preserve their virginity for thirty years. The first ten years they spent in learning their office; the next ten in putting in practice what they had learned; and the third period in instructing of others. At the conclusion of this time, such as chose it had liberty to marry, and quitting their sacred employment, to take up some other. However, we have account of but very few that accepted this indulgence, and those did not prosper. They generally became a prey to repentance and regret,

committed innumerable outrages in the city, and was at last the cause of its being sacked and plundered. As for the sacred fire, it was kept in the temple of Minerva.

* Livy tells us (l. 86.) that towards the conclusion of the civil war between Sylla and Marius, Mutius Scævola, the pontiff, was killed at the entrance of the temple of Vesta; but we do not find that the sacred fire was extinguished. And even when that temple was burnt towards the end of the first Punic war, L. Cecilius Metellus, then pontiff, rushed through the flames, and brought off the *Palladium* and other sacred things, though with the loss of his sight.

† Burning glasses were invented by Archimedes, who flourished 500 years after Numa.

from whence the rest, inspired with a religious fear, were willing to end their lives under the same institution.

The king honoured them with great privileges, such as power to make a will during their father's life, and to transact their other affairs without a guardian, like the mothers of three children now. When they went abroad, they had the *fasces* carried before them ;* and if, by accident, they met a person led to execution, his life was granted him. But the *vestal* was to make oath† that it was by chance she met him, and not by design. It was death to go under the chair in which they were carried.

For smaller offences these virgins were punished with stripes : and sometimes the *pontifex maximus* gave them the discipline naked, in some dark place, and under the cover of a veil : But she that broke her vow of chastity was buried alive by the *Colline* gate. There, within the walls, is raised a little mount of earth, called in Latin *Agger ;* under which is prepared a small cell, with steps to descend to it. In this are placed a bed, a lighted lamp, and some slight provisions, such as bread, water, milk, and oil, as they thought it impious to take off a person consecrated with the most awful ceremonies, by such a death as that of famine.‡ The criminal is carried to punishment through the *Forum*, in a litter well covered without, and bound up in such a manner that her cries cannot be heard. The people silently make way for the litter, and follow it with marks of extreme sorrow and dejection. There is no spectacle more dreadful than this, nor any day with the city passes in a more melancholy manner. When the litter comes to the place appointed, the officers loose the cords, the high-priest with hands lifted up towards heaven offers up some private prayers just before the fatal minute, then takes out the prisoner, who is covered with a veil, and places her upon the steps which lead down to the cell : after this, he retires with the rest

* This honour was not conferred upon them by Numa, but by the triumvirate in the year of Rome 712.

† Neither a vestal nor a priest of Jupiter, was obliged to take an oath. They were belived without that solemnity.

‡ There seems to be something improbable and inconsistent in this. Of what use could provisions be to the vestal, who, when the grave was closed upon her, must expire through want of air ? Or, if she could make use of those provisions, was she not at last to die by famine ? Perhaps what Plutarch here calls provisions were materials for some sacrifice.

of the priests, and when she is gone down, the steps are taken away, and the cell is covered with earth; so that the place is made level with the rest of the mount. Thus were the *vestals* punished that preserved not their chastity.

It is also said, that Numa built the temple of *Vesta*, where the perpetual fire was to be kept,* in an orbicular form, not intending to represent the figure of the earth, as if that was meant by *Vesta*, but the frame of the universe, in the centre of which the Pythagoreans place the element of fire,† and give it the name of *Vesta* and *Unity*. The earth they suppose not to be without motion, nor situated in the centre of the world, but to make its revolution round the sphere of fire, being neither one of the most valuable nor principal parts of the great machine. Plato, too, in his old age, is reported to have been of the same opinion, assigning the earth a different situation from the centre, and leaving that, as a place of honour, to a nobler element.

The *Pontifices*, were, moreover, to prescribe the form of funeral rites to such as consulted them. Numa himself taught them to look upon the last offices to the dead as no pollution. He instructed them to pay all due honour to the infernal gods, as receiving the most excellent part of us, and more particularly to venerate the goddess *Libitina*, as he called her, who presides over funeral solemnities; whether he meant by her *Proserpine*, or rather Venus,‡ as some of the most learned Romans suppose; not improperly ascribing to the same divine power the care of our birth and of our death.

He himself likewise fixed the time of mourning, according to the different ages of the deceased. He allowed none for a child that died under three years of age; and for one older the mourning was only to last as many months as he lived years, provided those were not more than ten.

* Dionysius of Halicarnassus (l. ii.) is of opinion, and probably he is right, that Numa did build the temple of *Vesta* in a round form, to represent the figure of the earth; for by *Vesta* they meant the earth.

† That this was the opinion of Philolaus and other Pythagoreans is well known: but Diogenes Laertius tells us, that Pythagoras himself held the earth to be the centre.

‡ This Venus *Libitina* was the same with Proserpine. She was called at Delphi Venus *Epitumbia*. Pluto was the Jupiter of the shades below; and there they had their Mercury too.

The longest mourning was not to continue above ten months, after which space widows were permitted to marry again: but she that took another husband before that term was out, was obliged by his decree to sacrifice a cow with calf.*

Numa instituted several other sacred orders; two of which I shall mention, the *Salii* † and *Feciales*,‡ which afford particular proofs of his piety. The *Feciales*, who were like the *Irenophylakes*, or *guardians of the peace*, among the Greeks, had, I believe, a name expressive of their office; for they were to *act* and mediate between the two parties, to decide their differences by reason, and not suffer them to go to war till all hopes of justice were lost. The Greeks call such a peace *Irene*, as puts an end to strife, not by mutual violence, but in a rational way. In like manner, the *feciales* or *heralds*, were often dispatched

* Such an unnatural sacrifice was intended to deter the widows from marrying again before the expiration of their mourning. Romulus's year consisting but of ten months, when Numa afterwards added two months more, he did not alter the time he had before settled for mourning; and therefore, though after that time we often meet with *Luctus annus*, or a year's mourning, we must take it only for the old year of Romulus.

The ordinary colour to express their grief, used alike by both sexes, was black, without trimmings. But after the establishment of the empire, when abundance of colours came in fashion, the old primitive white grew so much into contempt, that it became peculiar to the women for their mourning. *Vide* PLUT. *Quæst. Rom.*

There were several accidents which often occasioned the concluding of a public mourning, or suspension of a private one, before the fixed time; such as the dedication of a temple, the solemnity of public games or festivals, the solemn lustration performed by the censor, and the discharging of a vow made by a magistrate or a general. They likewise put off their mourning habit when a father, brother, or son, returned from captivity, or when some of the family were advanced to a considerable employment.

† The *Salii* were the guardians of the *Ancilia*, or twelve shields hung up in the temple of Mars. They took their name from their dancing in the celebration of an annual festival instituted in memory of a miraculous shield, which Numa pretended fell down from heaven.

‡ Dionysius of Halicarnassus finds them among the Aborigines; and Numa is said to have borrowed the institution from the people of Latium. He appointed twenty *feciales* chosen out of the most eminent families in Rome, and settled them in a college. The *pater patratus*, who made peace, or denounced war, was probably one of their body selected for that purpose, because he had both a father and a son alive. Liv. l. i. c. 24.

to such nations as had injured the Romans to persuade them to entertain more equitable sentiments : if they rejected their application, they called the gods to witness, with imprecations against themselves and their country, if their cause was not just; and so they declared war. But if the *feciales* refused their sanction, it was not lawful for any Roman soldier, nor even for the king himself, to begin hostilities. War was to commence with their approbation, as the proper judges whether it was just, and then the supreme magistrate was to deliberate concerning the proper means of carrying it on. The great misfortunes which befel the city from the Gauls, are said to have proceeded from the violation of these sacred rites. For when those barbarians were beseiging Clusium, Fabius Ambustus was sent ambassador to their camp, with proposals of peace in favour of the besieged. But receiving a harsh answer, he thought himself released from his character of ambassador, and rashly taking up arms for the Clusians, challenged the bravest man in the Gaulish army. He proved victorious, indeed, in this combat, for he killed his adversary, and carried off his spoils : but the Gauls, having discovered who he was, sent a herald to Rome to accuse Fabius of bearing arms against them, contrary to treaties and good faith, and without a declaration of war. Upon this the *feciales* exhorted the senate to deliver him up to the Gauls; but he applied to the people, and being a favourite with them, was screened from the sentence. Soon after this, the Gauls marched to Rome, and sacked the whole city except the capitol; as we have related at large in the life of Camillus.

The order of priests called *Salii*, is said to have been instituted on this occasion: In the eighth year of Numa's reign, a pestilence prevailed in Italy; Rome also felt its ravages. While the people were greatly dejected, we are told that a brazen buckler fell from heaven into the hands of Numa. Of this he gave a very wonderful account, received from Egeria and the muses : That the buckler was sent down for the preservation of the city, and should be kept with great care : That eleven others should be made as like it as possible in size and fashion, in order, that if any person were disposed to steal it, he might not be able to distinguish that which fell from heaven from the rest. He farther declared, that the place, and the meadows about it, where he frequently conversed with the

muses, should be consecrated to those divinities; and that the spring which watered the ground, should be sacred to the use of the vestal virgins, daily to sprinkle and purify their temple. The immediate cessation of the pestilence is said to have confirmed the truth of this account. Numa then shewed the buckler to the artists, and commanded them to exert all their skill for an exact resemblance. They all declined the attempt, except Veturius Mamurius, who was so successful in the imitation, and made the other eleven so like it, that not even Numa himself could distinguish them. He gave these bucklers in charge to the *Salii*; who did not receive their name, as some pretend, from Salius of Samothrace or Mantinea, that taught the way of dancing in arms, but rather from the subsultive dance itself, which they lead up along the streets, when in the month of March they carry the sacred bucklers through the city. On that occasion they are habited in purple vests, girt with broad belts of brass; they wear also brazen helmets, and carry short swords, with which they strike upon the bucklers, and to those sounds they keep time with their feet. They move in an agreeable manner, performing certain involutions and evolutions in a quick measure, with vigour, agility, and ease.

These bucklers are called *Ancilia*, from the form of them. For they are neither circular, nor yet like the *pelta*, semicircular, but fashioned in two crooked indented lines, the extremities of which meeting close, form a curve, in Greek *ancylon*. Or else they may be so named from the *ancon*, or *bend of the arm*, on which they are carried. This account of the matter we have from Juba, who is very desirous to derive the term from the Greek. But if we must have an etymology from that language, it may be taken from their descending, *anekathen*, from on high; or from *akesis*, their healing of the sick; or from *auchmon lusis*, their putting an end to the drought; or lastly, from *anaschesis*, deliverance from calamities: For which reason also Castor and Pollux were by Athenians called *anakes*. The reward Mamurius had for his art, was, we are told, an ode, which the Salians sung in memory of him, along with the Pyrrhic dance. Some, however, say, it was not *Veturius Mamurius*, who was celebrated in that composition, but *vetus memoria*, the *ancient remembrance* of the thing.

After Numa had instituted these several orders of priests, he erected a royal palace, called *Regia*, near the temple of Vesta; and there he passed most of his time, either in performing some sacred function, or instructing the priests, or, at least, in conversing with them on some divine subject. He had also another house upon the *Quirinal* mount, the situation of which they still shew us. In all public ceremonies and processions of the priests, a herald went before, who gave notice to the people to keep holiday. For, as they tell us, the Pythagoreans would not suffer their disciples to pay any homage or worship to the gods in a cursory manner, but required them to come prepared for it by meditation at home; so Numa was of opinion, that his citizens should neither see nor hear any religious service in a slight or careless way, but, disengaged from other affairs, bring with them that attention, which an object of such importance required. The streets and ways, on such occasions, were cleared of clamour, and all manner of noise which attends manual labour, that the solemnities might not be disturbed. Some vestiges of this still remain; for when the consul is employed either in augury or sacrificing, they call out to the people, *Hoc age; Mind this*, and thus admonish them to be orderly and attentive.

Many other of his institutions resemble those of the Pythagoreans. For as these had precepts, which enjoined not to sit upon a bushel;* not to stir the fire with a sword;† not to turn back upon a journey;‡ to offer an odd number to the celestial gods, and an even one to the terrestrial;|| the sense of which precepts is hid from the vulgar: so some of Numa's have a concealed meaning; as, not to offer to the gods wine proceeding

* That is, not to give up ourselves to idleness.

† Not to irritate him who is already angry.

‡ In another place Plutarch gives this precept thus, *Never return from the borders*. But the sense is the same: Die like a man; do not long after life, when it is departing, or wish to be young again.

|| The Pagans looked on an odd number as the more perfect, and the symbol of concord, because it cannot be divided into two equal parts, as the even number may, which is therefore the symbol of division. This prejudice was not only the reason why the first month was consecrated to the celestial, and the second to the terrestrial deities; but gave birth to a thousand superstitious practices, which in some countries are still kept up by those whom reason and religion ought to have undeceived.

from a vine unpruned; nor to sacrifice without meal;* to turn round when you worship;† and to sit down when you have worshipped. The two first precepts seem to recommend agriculture as a part of religion. And the turning round in adoration, is said to represent the circular motion of the world. But I rather think, that as the temples opened towards the east, such as entered them necessarily turning their backs upon the rising sun, made a half turn to that quarter, in honour of the god of the day, and then completed the circle, as well as their devotions, with their faces towards the god of the temple.—Unless, perhaps, this change of posture may have an enigmatical meaning, like the Egyptian wheels, admonishing us of the instability of every thing human, and preparing us to acquiesce and rest satisfied with whatever turns and changes the divine Being allots us. As for sitting down after an act of religion, they tell us it was intended as an omen of success in prayer, and of lasting happiness afterwards. They add, that as actions are divided by intervals of rest, so when one business was over, they sat down in the presence of the gods, that under their auspicious conduct they might begin another. Nor is this repugnant to what has been already advanced; since the lawgiver wanted to accustom us to address the deity, not in the midst of business or hurry, but when we have time and leisure to do it as we ought.

By this sort of religious discipline the people became so tractable, and were impressed with such a veneration of Numa's power, that they admitted many improbable, and even fabulous tales, and thought nothing incredible or impossible which he undertook. Thus he is said to have invited many of the citizens to his table,‡ where he took care the vessels should be mean, and the provisions plain and inelegant; but after they were seated, he told

* The priucipal intention of this precept might be to wean them from sacrifices of blood, and to bring them to offer only cakes and figures of animals made of paste.

† Probably to represent the immensity of the Godhead.

‡ Dionysius tells us, that Numa shewed these Romans all the rooms of his palace in the morning, meanly furnished, and without any signs of a great entertainment; that he kept them with him great part of the day; and when they returned to sup with him by invitation in the evening, they found every thing surprisingly magnificent. It is likely, Numa imputed the change to his invisible friend.

them, the goddess with whom he used to converse, was coming to visit him, when, on a sudden, the room was supplied with the most costly vessels, and the table with a most magnificent entertainment. But nothing can be imagined more absurd, than what is related of his conversation with Jupiter. The story goes, that when mount *Aventine* was not inclosed within the walls, nor yet inhabited, but abounded with flowing springs and shady groves, it was frequented by two demi-gods, Picus and Faunus. These, in other respects, were like the *Satyrs*, or the race of *Titans*;* but in the wonderful feats they performed by their skill in pharmacy and magic more resembled the *Idæi Dactyli*,† (as the Greeks call them;) and thus provided, they roamed about Italy. They tell us that Numa, having mixed the fountain of which they used to drink with wine and honey, surprised and caught them. Upon this, they turned themselves into many forms, and, quitting their natural figure, assumed strange and horrible appearances. But when they found they could not break or escape from the bond that held them, they acquainted him with many secrets of futurity, and taught him a charm for thunder and lightning, composed of onions, hair, and pilchards, which is used to this day. Others say, these demi-gods did not communicate the charm, but that by the force of magic they brought down Jupiter from heaven. The god, resenting this at Numa's hands, ordered *the charm to consist of heads*. *Of onions*, replied Numa. *No, human.—Hairs*, said Numa, desirous to fence against the dreadful injunction, and interrupting the god. *Living*, said Jupiter: *Pilchards*, said Numa. He was instructed, it seems, by Egeria, how to

* Some manuscripts give us πανων instead of Τιτανων, which is a better reading, because Picus and Faunus were horned Sylvan deities like Pan

† Diodorus tells us from Ephorus, the Idæi Dactyli were originally from mount Ida in Phrygia, from whence they passed into Europe with king Minos. They settled first in Samothrace, where they taught the inhabitants religious rites. Orpheus is thought to have been their disciple; and the first that carried a form of worship over into Greece. The Dactyli are likewise said to have found out the use of fire, and to have discovered the nature of iron and brass to the inhabitants of the country adjoining to mount Berecynthus, and to have taught them the way of working them. For this, and many other useful discoveries, they were after their death worshipped as gods..

manage the matter. Jupiter went away propitious, in Greek *ileos*, whence the place was called *Ilicium* ;* and so the charm was effected. These things, fabulous and ridiculous as they are, shew how superstition, confirmed by custom, operated upon the minds of the people. As for Numa himself, he placed his confidence so entirely in God, that when one brought him word the enemy was coming, he only smiled, saying, *And I am sacrificing*.

He is recorded to have been the first that built temples to *Fides*,† or *Faith*, and to *Terminus* ;‡ and he taught the Romans to swear by *faith*, as the greatest oaths; which they still continue to make use of. In our times they sacrifice animals in the fields, both on public and private occasions, to *Terminus*, as the god of boundaries ; but formerly the offering was an inanimate one ; for Numa argued that there should be no effusion of blood in the rites of a god, who is the witness of justice, and guardian of peace. It is indeed certain that Numa was the first that marked out the bounds of the Roman territory ; Romulus being unwilling, by measuring out his own, to shew how much he had encroached upon the neighbouring countries : For bounds, if preserved, are barriers against lawless power ; if violated, they are evidences of injustice. The territory of the city was by no means extensive at first, but Romulus added to it a considerable district gained by the sword. All this Numa divided among the indigent citizens, that poverty might not drive them to rapine ; and as he turned the application of the people to

* This is Plutarch's mistake. Ovid informs us, (Fast. l. iii.) that Jupiter was called *Elicius* from *elicere, to draw out*, because Jupiter was drawn out of heaven on this occasion.

† This was intended to make the Romans pay as much regard to their word, as to a contract in writing. And so excellent, in fact, were their principles, that Polybius gives the Romans of his time this honourable testimony.—" They most inviolably keep their word without being obliged to it by bail, witness, or promise ; whereas, ten securities, twenty promises, and as many witnesses, cannot hinder the faithless Greeks from attempting to deceive and disappoint you." No wonder, then, that so virtuous a people were victorious over those that were become thus degenerate and dishonest.

‡ The *Dii Termini* were represented by stones, which Numa caused to be placed on the borders of the Roman state, and of each man's private lands. In honour of these deities, he instituted a festival called *Terminalia*, which was annually celebrated on the 22d or 23d of February. To remove the Dii Termini was deemed a sacrilege of so heinous a nature, that any man might kill, with impunity, the transgressor.

agriculture, their temper was subdued together with the ground. For no occupation implants so speedy and so effectual a love of peace, as a country life; where there remains indeed courage and bravery sufficient to defend their property, but the temptations to injustice and avarice are removed. Numa, therefore, introduced among his subjects, an attachment to husbandry as a charm of peace, and contriving a business for them, which would rather form their manners to simplicity, than raise them to opulence, he divided the country into several portions, which he called *pagi* or boroughs, and appointed over each of them a governor or overseer. Sometimes also he inspected them himself, and, judging of the disposition of the people by the condition of their farms, some he advanced to posts of honour and trust; and, on the other hand, he reprimanded and endeavouaed to reform the negligent and the idle.*

But the most admired of all his institutions, is his distribution of the citizens into companies, according to their arts and trades. For the city consisting, as we have observed, of two nations, or rather factions, who were by no means willing to unite, or to blot out the remembrance of their original difference, but maintained perpetual contests and party quarrels; he took the same method with them as is used to incorporate hard and solid bodies, which, while entire, will not mix at all, but when reduced to powder, unite with ease. To attain his purpose, he divided, as I said, the whole multitude into small bodies, who gaining new distinctions, lost by degrees the great and original one, in consequence of their being thus broken into so many parts. This distribution was made according to the several arts or trades, of musicians, goldsmiths, masons, dyers, shoemakers, tanners, brasiers, and potters. He collected the other artificers also into companies, who had their respective halls, courts, and religious ceremonies, peculiar to each society. By these means he first took away the distinction of Sabines and Romans, subjects of Tatius, and subjects of Romulus, both name and thing; the very separation into parts mixing and incorporating the whole together.

* To neglect the cultivation of a farm, was considered amongst the Romans as a *censorium probrum*; a fault that merited the chastisement of the censor.

He is celebrated also in his political capacity, for correcting the law which empowered fathers to sell their children,* excepting such as married by their father's command or consent; for he reckoned it a great hardship that a woman should marry a man as free, and then live with a slave.

He attempted the reformation of the calendar too, which he executed with some degree of skill, though not with absolute exactness. In the reign of Romulus, it had neither measure nor order, some months consisting of fewer than twenty days,† while some were stretched to thirty-five, and others even to more. They had no idea of the difference between the annual course of the sun and that of the moon, and only laid down this position,

* Romulus had allowed fathers greater power over their children, than masters had over their slaves. For a master could sell his slave but once; whereas a father could sell his son three times, let him be of what age or condition soever.

† But Macrobius tells us, (Saturnal. l. i. c. 12.) that Romulus settled the number of days with more equality, allotting to March, May, Quintillis, and October, one and thirty days each; to April, June, Sextilis, November, and December, thirty; making up in all three hundred and four days. Numa was better acquainted with the celestial motions; and therefore, in the first place, added the two months of January and February. By the way, it is probable the reader will think, that neither Romulus, nor any other man, could be so ignorant as to make the lunar year consist of three hundred and four days; and that the Romans reckoned by lunar months, and consequently by the lunar year, originally, is plain from their calends, nones, and ides. To compose these two months, he added fifty days to the three hundred and four, in order to make them answer to the course of the moon. Beside this, he observed the difference between the solar and the lunar course to be eleven days; and, to remedy the inequality, he doubled those days after every two years, adding an interstitial month after February; which Plutarch here calls *Mercedinus*; and, in the life of Julius Cæsar *Mercedonius*. Festus speaks of certain days, which he calls Dies Mercedonii, because they were appointed for the payment of workmen and domestics, which is all we know of the word. As Numa was sensible, that the solar year consisted of three hundred and sixty-five days, and six hours, and that the six hours made a whole day in four years, he commanded, that the month Mercedinus, after every four years, should consist of twenty-three days; but the care of these intercalations being left to the priests, they put in or left out the intercalary day or month, as they fancied it lucky or unlucky; and, by that means, created such a confusion, that the festivals came, in process of time, to be kept at a season quite contrary to what they had been formerly. The Roman calendar had gained near three months in the days of Julius Cæsar, and therefore, wanted a great reformation again.

that the year consisted of three hundred and sixty days. Numa, then, observing that there was a difference of eleven days, three hundred and fifty-four days making up the lunar year, and three hundred and sixty-five the solar, doubled those eleven days, and inserted them as an intercalary month, after that of February, every other year. This additional month was called by the Romans *Mercedinus*. But this amendment of the irregularity afterwards required a farther amendment. He likewise altered the order of the months, making March the third, which was the first; January first which was the eleventh of Romulus, and February the second, which was the twelfth and last. Many, however, assert, that the two months of January and February were added by Numa, whereas before they had reckoned but ten months in the year, as some barbarous nations had but three; and, among the Greeks, the Arcadians four, and the Acarnanians six. The Egyptian year, they tell us, at first, consisted only of one month, afterwards of four. And therefore, though they inhabit a new country, they seem to be a very ancient people, and reckon in their chronology an incredible number of years, because they account months for years.*

That the Roman year contained at first ten months only, and not twelve, we have a proof in the name of the last; for they still call it December, or the tenth month; and that March was first, is also evident, because the fifth from it was called *Quintilis*, the sixth *Sextilis*, and so the rest in their order. If January and February had then been placed before March, the month *Quintilis* would have been the fifth in name, but the seventh in reckoning. Besides, it is reasonable to conclude, that the month of March, dedicated by Romulus to the god *Mars*, should stand first; and April second, which has its name from *Aphrodite*, or *Venus*, for in this month the women sacrifice

* To suppose the Egyptians reckoned months for years, does indeed bring their computation pretty near the truth, with respect to the then age of the world; for they reckoned a succession of kings for the space of 36000 years. But that supposition would make the reigns of their kings unreasonably short. Besides, Herodotus says, the Egyptians were the first that began to compute by years; and that they made the year consist of twelve months. Their boasted antiquity must, therefore, be imputed to their stretching the fabulous part of their history too far back. As to Plutarch's saying that Egypt was a new country, it is strange that such a notion could ever be entertained by a man of his knowledge.

to that goddess, and bathe on the first of it, with crowns of myrtle on their heads. Some, however, say, April derives not its name from *Aphrodite;* but, as the very sound of the term seems to dictate, from *aperire*, *to open*, because the spring having then attained its vigour, it *opens* and unfolds the blossoms of plants. The next month, which is that of May, is so called from *Maia*, the mother of Mercury, for to him it is sacred. June is so styled from the *youthful* season of the year. Some again inform us, that these two months borrow their names from the two ages, *old* and *young;* for the older men are called *majores*, and the younger *juniores*. The succeeding months were denominated according to their order, of fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth. Afterwards *Quintilis*, was called July, in honour of Julius Cæsar, who overcame Pompey; and *Sextilis* August, from Augustus the second emperor of Rome. To the two following months Domitian gave his two names of *Germanicus* and *Domitianus*, which lasted but a little while; for, when he was slain, they resumed their old names, September and October. The two last were the only ones that all along retained the original appellation which they had from their order. February, which was either added or transposed by Numa, is the month of purification; for so the term signifies; and then rites are celebrated for the purifying of trees,* and procuring a blessing on their fruits; then also the feast of *Lupercalia* is held, whose ceremonies greatly resemble those of a lustration. January, the first month, is so named from *Janus*. And Numa seems to me to have taken away the precedency from March, which is denominated from the god of war, with a design to shew his preference of the political virtues to the martial. For this *Janus*, in the most remote antiquity, whether a demi-

* Another reading has it, τοις φιτος ενιγιζουσι instead of τοις φυτοις; and then the sense will be, *they sacrifice to the dead.* Both have their authorities; the common reading being supported by a passage in Ovid, who takes notice that the *Luperci* purified the ground.—

Secta quia Pelle Luperci
Omne solum lustrant, Lib. ii. FAST.

And the other, which seems the better, rests upon the authority of Varro and others who mention an offering to the dead in the month of February—*Ab deis inferis Februaris appeliatus quod tunc his parentetur.*

god or a king, being remarkable for his political abilities and his cultivation of society, reclaimed men from their rude and savage manners; he is therefore represented with two faces, as having altered the former state of the world, and given quite a new turn to life. He has also a temple at Rome with two gates, which they call the gates of war. It is the custom for this temple to stand open in the time of war, and to be shut in the time of peace. The latter was seldom the case, as the empire has been generally engaged in war on account of its great extent, and its having to contend with so many surrounding barbarous nations. It has, therefore, been shut only in the reign of Augustus Cæsar,* when he had conquered Anthony: and before, in the consulate of Marcus Attilius † and Titus Manlius, a little while; for a new war breaking out, it was not opened for one day, but stood constantly shut during the space of forty-three years, while uninterrupted peace reigned in every quarter. Not only the people of Rome were softened and humanized by the justice and mildness of the king, but even the circumjacent cities, breathing, as it were, the same salutary and delightful air, began to change their behaviour. Like the Romans, they became desirous of peace and good laws, of cultivating the ground, educating their children in tranquility, and paying their homage to the gods. Italy then was taken up with festivals and sacrifices, games and entertainments; the people, without any apprehensions of danger, mixed in a friendly manner, and treated each other with mutual hospitality; the love of virtue and justice, as from the source of Numa's wisdom, gently flowing upon all, and moving with the composure of *his* heart. Even the hyperbolical expressions of the poets fall short of describing the happiness of those days.

"Secure *Arachne* spread her slender toils
O'er the broad buckler; eating rust consum'd

* Augustus shut the temple of Janus three several times; one of which was in the year of Rome 750, before the birth of our Saviour, according to Isaiah's prophecy, that all the world should be blest with peace, when the Prince of Peace was born. This temple was also shut by Vespasian after his triumph over the Jews.

† Instead of Marcus we should read Caius Attillius. Titus Manlius, his colleague, shut the temple of Janus, at the conclusion of the first Punic war.

The vengeful swords and once far-gleaming spears
No more the trump of war swells its hoarse throat,
Nor robs the eye-lids of their genial slumber.*

We have no account of either war or insurrection in the state, during Numa's reign. Nay, he experienced neither enmity nor envy; nor did ambition dictate either open or private attempts against his crown. Whether it were the fear of the gods, who took so pious a man under their protection, or reverence of his virtue, or the singular good fortune of his times, that kept the manners of men pure and unsullied, he was an illustrious instance of that truth which Plato several ages after ventured to deliver concerning government: *That the only sure prospect of deliverance from the evils of life will be, when the divine Providence shall so order it, that the regal power, invested in a prince who has the sentiments of a philosopher, shall render virtue triumphant over vice.* A man of such wisdom is not only happy in himself, but contributes by his instructions to the happiness of others. There is, in truth, no need either of force or menaces, to direct the multitude; for when they see virtue exemplified in so glorious a pattern as the life of their prince, they become wise of themselves, and endeavour, by friendship and unanimity, by a strict regard to justice and temperance, to form themselves to an innocent and happy life. This is the noblest end of government; and he is most worthy of the royal seat who can regulate the lives and dispositions of his subjects in such a manner. No one was more sensible of this than Numa.

As to his wives and children, there are great contradictions among historians. For some say, he had no wife but Tatia, nor any child but one daughter named Pompilia. Others, beside that daughter, give an account of four sons, Pompon, Pinus, Calpus, and Mamercus, every one of which left an honourable posterity, the Pomponii being descended from Pompon, the Pinarii from Pinus the Calpurnii from Calpus, and the Mamercii from Mamercus. These were surnamed *Regis* or *kings*.† But a

* Plutarch took this passage from some excellent verses of Bacchylides in praise of peace, given us by Stobæus.

† *Rex* was the surname of the Æmilians and Marcians, but not of the Pomponians, the Pinarians, or Mamercians. The Pinarii were descended from a family who were priests of Hercules, and more ancient than the times of Numa.

third set of writers accuse the former of forging these genealogies from Numa, in order to ingratiate themselves with particular families. And they tell us, that Pompilia was not the daughter of Tatia, but of Lucretia, another wife, whom he married after he ascended the throne. All, however, agree, that Pompilia was married to Marcius, son of that Marcius who persuaded Numa to accept the crown; for he followed him to Rome, where he was enrolled a senator, and after Numa's death, was competitor with Tullus Hostilius for the throne; but failing in the enterprize, he starved himself to death. His son Marcius, husband to Pompilia, remained in Rome, and had a son named Ancus Marcius, who reigned after Tullus Hostilius. This son is said to have been but five years old at the death of Numa.

Numa was carried off by no sudden or acute distemper; but, as Piso relates, wasted away insensibly with old age and a gentle decline. He was some few years above eighty when he died.

The neighbouring nations that were in friendship and alliance with Rome, strove to make the honours of his burial equal to the happiness of his life, attending with crowns and other public offerings. The senators carried the bier, and the ministers of the gods walked in procession. The rest of the people, with the women and children, crowded to the funeral; not, as if they were attending the interment of an aged king, but as if they had lost one of their beloved relations in the bloom of life; for they followed it with tears and loud lamentations. They did not burn the body,* because (as we are told) he himself forbade it; but they made two stone coffins, and buried them under the Janiculum; the one containing his body, and the other the sacred books which he had

* In the most ancient times they committed the bodies of the dead to the ground, as appears from the history of the patriarchs. But the Egyptians, from a vain desire of preserving their bodies from corruption after death, had them embalmed; persons of condition with rich spices, and even the poor had theirs preserved with salt. The Greeks, to obviate the inconveniences that might possibly happen from corruption, burnt the bodies of the dead; but Pliny tells us that Sylla was the first Roman, whose body was burnt. When Paganism was abolished, the burning of dead bodies ceased with it, and in the belief of the resurrection, christians committed their dead with due care and honour to the earth, to repose there till that great event.

written in the same manner as the Grecian legislators wrote their tables of laws.

Numa had taken care, however, in his life-time, to instruct the priests in all that those books contained; and to impress both the sense and practise on their memories. He then ordered them to be buried with him, persuaded that such mysteries could not safely exist in lifeless writing. Influenced by the same reasoning, it is said, the Pythagoreans did not commit their precepts to writing, but entrusted them to the memories of such as they thought worthy of so great a deposit. And when they happened to communicate to an unworthy person their abstruse problems in geometry, they gave out that the gods threatened to avenge his profaneness and impiety with some great and signal calamity. Those, therefore, may be well excused who endeavour to prove by so many resemblances that Numa was acquainted with Pythagoras. Valerius Antias relates, that there were twelve books written in Latin concerning religion, and twelve more of philosophy, in Greek, buried in that coffin. But four hundred years after,* when Publius Cornelius and Marcus Bæbius were consuls, a prodigious fall of rain having washed away the earth that covered the coffins, and the lids falling off, one of them appeared entirely empty, without the least remains of the body; in the other the books were found. Petilius, then Prætor, having examined them, made his report upon oath to the senate, that it appeared to him inconsistent both with justice and religion, to make them public: In consequence of which all the volumes were carried into the Comitium, and burnt.

* Plutarch probably wrote five hundred; for this happened in the year of Rome 573. "One Terentius," says Varo, [*ap. S. August. de Civ. Dei*] "had a piece of ground near the Janiculum; and an husbandman of his one day accidentally running over Numa's tomb, turned up some of the legislator's books, wherein he gave his reasons for establishing the religion of the Romans as he left it. The husbandman carried these books to the prætor, and the prætor to the senate, who, after having read his frivolous reasons for his religious establishments, agreed, that the books should be destroyed, in pursuance of Numa's intentions. It was accordingly decreed, that the prætor should throw them into the fire." But though Numa's motives for the religion he established might be trivial enough, that was not the chief reason for surpressing them. The real, at least the principal reason, was the many new superstitions, equally trivial, which the Romans had introduced, and the worship which they paid to images, contrary to Numa's appointment.

Glory follows in the train of great men, and increases after their death; for envy does not long survive them: nay, it sometimes dies before them. The misfortunes, indeed, of the succeeding kings added lustre to the character of Numa. Of the five that came after him, the last was driven from the throne, and lived long in exile; and of the other four, not one died a natural death. Three were traitorously slain. As for Tullus Hostilius, who reigned next after Numa, he ridiculed and despised many of his best institutions, particularly his religious ones, as effeminate and tending to inaction; for his view was to dispose the people to war. He did not, however, abide by his irreligious opinions, but falling into a severe and complicated sickness, he changed them, for a superstition,* very different from Numa's piety: Others, too, were infected with the same false principles, when they saw the manner of his death, which is said to have happened by lightning.†

NUMA AND LYCURGUS COMPARED.

HAVING gone through the lives of Numa and Lycurgus, we must now endeavour (though it is no easy matter) to *contrast* their actions. The resemblances between them however, are obvious enough; their wisdom, for instance, their piety, their talents for government, the instruction of their people, and their deriving their laws from a divine source. But the chief of their peculiar distinctions, was Numa's accepting a crown, and Lycurgus's relinquishing one. The former received a kingdom

* None are so superstitious in distress as those, who, in their prosperity, have laughed at religion. The famous Canon Vossius was no less remarkable for the greatness of his fears, than he was for the littleness of his faith.

† The palace of Tullus Hostilius was burnt down by lightning; and he, with his wife and children, perished in the flames. Though some historians say, that Ancus Marcius, who, as the grandson of Numa, expected to succeed to the crown, took the opportunity of the storm, to assassinate the king.

without seeking it, the latter resigned one when he had it in possession. Numa was advanced to sovereign power when a private person and a stranger; Lycurgus reduced himself from a king to a private person. It was an honour to the one to attain to royal dignity by his justice; and it was an honour to the other to prefer justice to that dignity. Virtue rendered the one so respectable as to deserve a throne, and the other so great as to be above it.

The second observation is, that both managed their respective governments, as musicians do the lyre, each in a different manner. Lycurgus wound up the strings of Sparta, which he found relaxed with luxury, to a stronger tone: Numa softened the high and harsh tone of Rome. The former had the more difficult task. For it was not their swords and breast plates, which he persuaded his citizens to lay aside, but their gold and silver, their sumptuous beds and tables; what he taught them, was, not to devote their time to feasts and sacrifices, after quitting the rugged paths of war, but to leave entertainments and the pleasures of wine, for the laborious exercises of arms and the wrestling-ring. Numa effected his purposes in a friendly way by the regard and veneration the people had for his person; Lycurgus had to struggle with conflicts and dangers, before he could establish his laws. The genius of Numa was more mild and gentle, softening and attempering the fiery dispositions of his people to justice and peace. If we be obliged to admit the sanguinary and unjust treatment of the Helotes, as a part of the politics of Lycurgus, we must allow Numa to have been far the more humane and equitable lawgiver, who permitted absolute slaves to taste of the honour of freemen, and in the *Saturnalia* to be entertained along with their masters.* For this also they tell us was one of Numa's institutions, that persons in a state of servitude, should be admitted, at least once a year, to the liberal enjoyment of those fruits

* The *Saturnalia* was a feast celebrated on the 14th of the kalends of January. Beside the sacrifices in honour of Saturn, who, upon his retiring into Italy, introduced there the happiness of the golden age, servants were at this time indulged in mirth and freedom, in memory of the equality which prevailed in that age; presents were sent from one friend to another; and no war was to be proclaimed, or offender executed. It is uncertain when this festival was instituted. Macrobius says, it was celebrated in Italy long before the building of Rome; and probably he is right, for the Greeks kept the same feast under the name of *Chronia*. Macrob, Saturn, l. i. c. 7.

which they had helped to raise. Some however pretend to find in this custom the vestiges of the equality which subsisted in the times of Saturn, when there was neither servant nor master, but all were upon the same footing, and, as it were, of one family.

Both appear to have been equally studious to lead their people to temperance and sobriety. As to the other virtues, the one was more attached to fortitude, and the other to justice. Though possibly the different nature and quality of their respective governments, required a different process. For it was not through want of courage, but to guard against injustice, that Numa restrained his subjects from war : nor did Lycurgus endeavour to infuse a martial spirit into his people, with a view to encourage them to injure others, but to guard them against being injured by invasions. As each had the luxuriances of his citizens to prune, and their deficiencies to fill up, they must necessarily make very considerable alterations.

Numa's distribution of the people was indulgent and agreeable to the commonalty, as with him a various and mixt mass of goldsmiths, musicians, shoemakers, and other trades composed the body of the city. But Lycurgus inclined to the nobility in modelling his state, and he proceeded in a severe and unpopular manner ; putting all mechanic arts in the hands of slaves and strangers, while the citizens were only taught how to manage the spear and shield. They were only artists in war, and servants of Mars, neither knowing nor desiring to know any thing but how to obey, command and conquer their enemies. That the freemen might be entirely and once for all free, he would not suffer them to give any attention to their circumstances, but that the whole business was to be left to the slaves and Helotes, in the same manner as the dressing of their meat. Numa made no such distinction as this : he only put a stop to the gain of rapine. Not solicitous to prevent an inequality of substance, he forbade no other means of increasing the fortunes of his subjects, nor their rising to the greatest opulence ; neither did he guard against poverty, which at the same time made its way into, and spread in the city. While there was no great disparity in the possessions of his citizens, but all were moderately provided, he should at first have combated the desire of gain ; and, like Lycurgus, have watched

against its inconveniences; for those were by no means inconsiderable, but such as gave birth to the many and great troubles that happened in the Roman state.

As to an equal division of lands, neither was Lycurgus to blame for making it, nor Numa for not making it. The equality which it caused, afforded the former a firm foundation for his government; and the latter finding a division already made, and probably as yet subsisting entire, had no occasion to make a new one.

With respect to the community of wives and children, each took a politic method to banish jealousy. A Roman husband, when he had a sufficient number of children, and was applied to by one that had none, might give up his wife to him,* and was at liberty both to divorce her, and take her again. But the Lacedæmonian, while his wife remained in his house, and the marriage subsisted in its original force, allowed his friend, who desired to have children by her, the use of his bed: and (as we have already observed) many husbands invited to their houses such men as were likely to give them healthy and well-made children. The difference between the two customs, is this, that the Lacedæmonians appeared very easy and unconcerned about an affair that in other places causes so much disturbance, and consumes men's hearts with jealousy and sorrow; whilst among the Romans there was a modesty, which veiled the matter with a new contract, and seemed to declare that a community in wedlock is intolerable?

Yet farther, Numa's strictness as to virgins, tended to form them to that modesty which is the ornament of their sex: but the great liberty which Lycurgus gave them, brought upon them the censure of the poets, particularly Ibycus: for they call them *Phœnomerides* and *Andromancis*, Euripides describes them in this manner,

> These quit their homes, ambitious to display,
> Amidst the youths, their vigour in the race,
> Or feats of wrestling, whilst their airy robe
> Flies back, and leaves their limbs uncover'd.—

The skirts of the habit which the virgins wore, were not sewed to the bottom, but opened at the sides as they

* It does not appear that Numa gave any sanction to this liberty. Plutarch himself says a little below, that no divorce was known in Rome till long after.

walked, and discovered the thigh; as Sophocles very plainly writes:

Still in the light dress struts the vain Hermione,
Whose opening folds display the naked thigh.

Consequently their behaviour is said to have been too bold, and too masculine; in particular to their husbands. For they considered themselves as absolute mistresses in their houses; nay, they wanted a share in affairs of state, and delivered their sentiments with great freedom concerning the most weighty matters. But Numa, though he preserved entire to the matrons all the honour and respect that were paid them by their husbands in the time of Romulus, when they endeavoured by kindness to compensate for the rape, yet he obliged them to behave with great reserve, and to lay aside all impertinent curiosity. He taught them to be sober, and accustomed them to silence, entirely to abstain from wine,* and not to speak even of the most necessary affairs except in the presence of their husbands. When a woman once appeared in the *forum* to plead her own cause, it is reported that the senate ordered the oracle to be consulted, what this strange event portended to the city.† Nay, what is recorded of a few infamous women, is a proof of the obedience and meekness of the Roman matrons in general. For as our historians give us accounts of those who first carried war into the bowels of their country, or against their brothers, or were first guilty of parricide; so the Romans relate, that Spurius Carvilius was the first among them that divorced his wife, when no such thing had happened before for two hundred and thirty years from the building of Rome:‡ and that Thalæa, the wife of Pinarius,

* Romulus made the drinking of wine, as well as adultery, a capital crime in women. For he said, adultery opens the door to all sorts of crimes, and wine opens the door to adultery. The severity of this law was softened in the succeeding ages; the women who were overtaken in liquor, were not condemned to die, but to lose their dowers.

† What then appeared so strange, became afterwards common enough; insomuch that every troublesome woman of that kind, was called Afrania, from a senator's wife of that name, who busied herself much in courts of justice. The eloquent Hortensia, daughter to the orator Hortensius, pleaded with such success for the women, when the triumvirs had laid a fine upon them, that she got a considerable part of it remitted.

‡ It was in the 520th year of Rome that this happened.

was the first that quarrelled, having a dispute with her mother-in-law Gegania, in the reign of Tarquin *the proud*. So well framed for the preserving of decency and a propriety of behaviour, were this lawgiver's regulations with respect to marriage.

Agreeable to the education of virgins in Sparta, were the directions of Lycurgus as to the time of their being married. For he ordered them to be married when both their age and wishes led them to it; that the company of a husband, which nature now required, might be the foundation of kindness and love, and not of fear and hatred, which would be the consequence when nature was forced; and that their bodies might have strength to bear the troubles of breeding and the pangs of child-birth; the propagation of children being looked upon as the only end of marriage. But the Romans married their daughters at the age of twelve years, or under; that both their bodies and manners might come pure and untainted into the management of their husbands. It appears then that the former institution more naturally tended to the procreation of children, and the latter to the forming of the manners for the matrimonial union.

However, in the education of the boys, in regulating their classes, and laying down the whole method of their exercises, their diversions, and their eating at a common table, Lycurgus stands distinguished, and leaves Numa only upon a level with ordinary lawgivers. For Numa left it to the option or convenience of parents, to bring up their sons to agriculture, to ship-building, to the business of a brasier, or the art of a musician. As if it were not necessary for one design to run through the education of them all, and for each individual to have the same bias given him; but, as if they were all like passengers in a ship, who coming each from a different employment, and with a different intent, stand upon their common defence in time of danger, merely out of fear for themselves or their property, and on other occasions are attentive only to their private ends. In such a case common legislators would have been excusable, who might have failed through ignorance or want of power; but should not so wise a man as Numa, who took upon him the government of a state so lately formed, and not likely to make the least opposition to any thing he proposed,

have considered it as his first care, to give the children such a bent of education, and the youth such a mode of exercise, as would prevent any great difference or confusion in their manners, that so they might be formed from their infancy, and persuaded to walk together, in the same paths of virtue. Lycurgus found the utility of this in several respects, and particularly in securing the continuance of his laws. For the oath the Spartans had taken, would have availed but little, if the youth had not been already tinctured with his discipline, and trained to a zeal for his establishment. Nay, so strong and deep was the tincture, that the principal laws which he enacted, continued in force for more than five hundred years. But the primary view of Numa's government, which was to settle the Romans in lasting peace and tranquillity, immediately vanished with him: and, after his death, the temple of Janus, which he had kept shut (as if he had really held war in prison and subjection) was set wide open, and Italy was filled with blood.* The beautiful pile of justice which he had reared, presently fell to the ground, being without the cement of education.

You will say then, was not Rome bettered by her wars? A question this which wants a long answer, to satisfy such as place the happiness of a state in riches, luxury, and an extent of dominion, rather than in security, equity, temperance and content. It may seem, however, to afford an argument in favour of Lycurgus, that the Romans, upon quitting the discipline of Numa, soon arrived at a much higher degree of power; whereas the Lacedæmonians, as soon as they departed from the institution of Lycurgus, from being the most respectable people of Greece, became the meanest, and were in danger of being absolutely destroyed. On the other hand, it must be acknowledged something truly great and divine in Numa, to be invited from another country to the throne; to make so many alterations by means of persuasions; to reign undisturbed over a city not yet united in itself, without the use of an armed force (which Lycurgus was obliged to have recourse to, when he availed himself of the aid of the nobility against the commons), and, by his wisdom and justice alone, to conciliate and combine all his subjects in peace.

* In the wars with the Fidenates, the Albans, and the Latins.

SOLON.*

DIDYMUS the grammarian, in his answer to Asclepiades concerning the laws of Solon, cites the testimony of one Philocles, by which he would prove Solon the son of Euphorion, contrary to the opinion of others that have wrote of him. For they all with one voice declare that Execestides was his father; a man of moderate fortune and power, but of the noblest family in Athens, being descended from Codrus. His mother, according to Heraclides of Pontus, was cousin-german to the mother of Pisistratus. This tie of friendship at first united Solon and Pisistratus in a very intimate friendship, which was drawn closer (if we may believe some writers) by the regard which the former had for the beauty and excellent qualities of the latter.† Hence we may believe it was, that when they differed afterwards about matters of state, this dissention broke not out into any harsh or ungenerous treatment of each other; but their first union kept some hold of their hearts, *some sparks of the flame still remained*, and the tenderness of former friendship was not quite forgotten. * * * * * *

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Solon's father having hurt his fortune,‡ as Hermippus tells us, by indulging his great and munificent spirit,

* Solon flourished about the year before Christ 597.

† Pisistratus was remarkably courteous, affable, and liberal. He had always two or three slaves near him with bags of silver coin: when he saw any man look sickly, or heard that any died insolvent, he relieved the one, and buried the others at his own expence. If he perceived people melancholy he inquired the cause, and if he found it was poverty, he furnished them with what might enable them to get bread, but not to live idly. Nay, he left even his gardens and orchards open, and the fruit free to the citizens. His looks were easy and sedate, his language soft and modest. In short, if his virtues had been genuine, and not dissembled, with a view to the tyranny of Athens, he would (as Solon told him) have been the best citizen in it.

‡ Aristotle reckons Solon himself among the inferior citizens, and quotes his own works to prove it. The truth is, that Solon was never rich, it may be, because he was always honest. In his youth

though the son might have been supported by his friends, yet as he was of a family that had long been assisting to others, he was ashamed to accept of assistance himself; and therefore in his younger years applied himself to merchandize. Some, however, say that he travelled, rather to gratify his curiosity and extend his knowledge, than to raise an estate. For he professed his love of wisdom, and when far advanced in years made this declaration, *I grow old in the pursuit of learning.* He was not too much attached to wealth, as we may gather from the following verses:

The man that boasts of golden stores,
Of grain that loads his bending floors,
Of fields with fresh'ning herbage green,
Where bounding steeds and herds are seen,
I call not happier than the swain
Whose limbs are sound, whose food is plain,
Whose joys a blooming wife endears,
Whose hours a smiling offspring cheers.

Yet in another place he says:

The flow of riches, though desir'd,
Life's real goods, if well acquir'd,
Unjustly let me never gain,
Lest vengeance follow in their train.

Indeed, a good man, a valuable member of society, should neither set his heart upon superfluities, nor reject the use of what is necessary and convenient. And in those times, as Hesiod † informs us, no business was looked upon as a disparagement, nor did any trade cause a disad-

he was mightily addicted to poetry. And Plato (in *Timæo*) says, that if he had finished all his poems, and particularly the History of the Atlantic Island, which he brought out of Egypt, and had taken time to revise and correct them as others did, neither Homer, Hesiod, nor any other ancient poet would have been more famous. It is evident both from the life and writings of this great man, that he was a person not only of exalted virtue, but of a pleasant and agreeable temper. He considered men as men; and keeping both their capacity for virtue, and their proneness to evil in his view, he adapted his laws so as to strengthen and support the one, and to check and keep under the other. His institutions are as remarkable for their sweetness and practicability, as those of Lycurgus are for harshness and forcing human nature.

* This passage of Solon's, and another below, are now found among the sentences of Theognis.

† Lib. Op. & Di. ver. 309.

vantageous distinction. The profession of merchandize was honourable, as it brought home the produce of barbarous countries, engaged the friendship of kings, and opened a wide field of knowledge and experience. Nay, some merchants have been founders of great cities; Protus, for instance, that built Marseilles, for whom the Gauls about the Rhone had the highest esteem. Thales also, and Hippocrates the mathematician, are said to have had their share in commerce; and the oil that Plato disposed of in Egypt,* defrayed the expence of his travels.

If Solon was too expensive and luxurious in his way of living, and indulged his poetical vein in his description of pleasure too freely for a philosopher, it is imputed to his mercantile life. For as he passed through many and great dangers, he might surely compensate them with a little relaxation and enjoyment. But that he placed himself rather in the class of the poor than the rich, is evident from these lines:

> For vice, tho' PLENTY fills her horn,
> And virtue sinks in want and scorn;
> Yet never, sure, shall Solon change
> His truth for wealth's most easy range!
> Since virtue lives, and truth shall stand,
> While wealth eludes the grasping hand.

He seems to have made use of his poetical talent at first, not for any serious purpose, but only for amusement, and to fill up his hours of leisure; but afterwards he inserted moral sentences, and interwove many political transactions in his poems, not for the sake of recording or remembering them, but sometimes by way of apology for his own administration, and sometimes to exhort, to advise, or to censure the citizens of Athens. Some are of opinion, that he attempted to put his laws too in verse, and they give us this beginning.

> Supreme of gods, whose power we first address
> This plan to honour, and these laws to bless.

Like most of the sages of those times, he cultivated chiefly that part of moral philosophy which treats of civil obliga-

* It was usual to trade into Egypt with the oil of Greece and Judea. It is said in the prophet Hosea, (c. xii. v. 1.) *Ephraim carrieth oil into Egypt.*

tions. His physics were of a very simple and ancient cast, as appears from the following lines :

> From cloudy vapours falls the treasur'd snow,
> And the fierce hail : from light'ning's rapid blaze
> Springs the loud thunder—winds disturb the deep,
> Than whose unruffled breast, no smoother scene
> In all the works of nature !———

Upon the whole, Thales seems to have been the only philosopher, who then carried his speculations beyond things in common use, while the rest of the wise men maintained their character by rules for social life.

They are reported to have met at Delphi, and afterwards at Corinth upon the invitation of Periander, who made provision for their entertainment. But what contributed most to their honour, was their sending the *tripod* from one to another, with an ambition to outvie each other in modesty. The story is this : When some Coans were drawing a net, certain strangers from Miletus bought the draught unseen. It proved to be a golden tripod, which Helen, as she sailed from Troy, is said to have thrown in there, in compliance with an ancient oracle. A dispute arising at first between the strangers and the fishermen about the tripod, and afterwards extending itself to the states to which they belonged, so as almost to engage them in hostilities, the priestess of Apollo took up the matter, by ordering that the wisest man they could find should have the tripod. And first it was sent to Thales at Miletus, the Coans voluntarily presenting that to one of the Milesians, for which they would have gone to war with them all. Thales declared that Bias was a wiser man than he, so it was brought to him. He sent it to another, as wiser still. After making a farther circuit, it came to Thales the second time. And at last, it was carried from Miletus to Thebes, and dedicated to the Ismenian Apollo. Theophrastus relates, that the tripod was first sent to Bias at Priene ; that Bias sent it back again to Thales at Miletus ; that so having passed through the hands of the seven, it came round to Bias again, and at last was sent to the temple of Apollo at Delphi. This is the most current account ; yet some say the present was not a tripod, but a bowl sent by Crœsus ; and others, that it was a cup which one Bathycles had left for that purpose.

We have a particular account of a conversation which Solon had with Anacharsis,* and of another he had with Thales. Anacharsis went to Solon's house at Athens, knocked at the door, and said *he was a stranger who desired to enter into engagements of friendship and mutual hospitality with him.* Solon answered, *Friendships are best formed at home. Then do you*, said Anacharsis, *who are at home, make me your friend, and receive me into your house.* Struck with the quickness of his repartee. Solon gave him a kind welcome, and kept him some time with him, being then employed in public affairs and in modelling his laws. When Anacharsis knew what Solon was about, he laughed at his undertaking, and at the absurdity of imagining he could restrain the avarice and injustice of his citizens by *written laws, which in all respects resembled spiders webs, and would like them, only entangle and hold the poor and weak, while the rich and powerful easily broke through them.* To this Solon replied, *Men keep their agreements, when it is an advantage to both parties not to break them; and he would so frame his laws, as to make it evident to the Athenians, that it would be more for their interest to observe them than to transgress them.* The event, however, shewed, that Anacharsis was nearer the truth in his conjecture, than Solon was in his hope. Anacharsis having seen an assembly of the people at Athens, said, *he was surprised at this, that in Greece wise men pleaded causes, and fools determined them.*

When Solon was entertained by Thales at Miletus, he expressed some wonder that *he did not marry and raise a family.* To this Thales gave no immediate answer; but some days after he instructed a stranger to say, That *he came from Athens ten days before.* Solon inquiring, *What news there was at Athens?* the man, according to his in-

* The Scythians, long before the days of Solon had been celebrated for their frugality, their temperance, and justice. Anacharsis was one of these Scythians, and prince of the blood. He went to Athens about the forty-seventh olympiad, that is, 590 years before Christ. His good sense, his knowledge, and great experience made him pass for one of the seven wise men. But the greatest and wisest men have their inconsistencies: for such it certainly was, for Anacharsis to carry the Grecian worship, the rights of Cybele, into Scythia, contrary to the laws of his country. Though he performed those rites privately in a woody part of the country, a Scythian happened to see him, and acquainted the king with it, who came immediately and shot him with an arrow upon the spot. HERODOT. l. iv. c. 76.

structions, said, *None, except the funeral of a young man, which was attended by the whole city. For he was the son (as they told me) of a person of great honour, and of the highest reputation for virtue, who was then abroad upon his travels. What a miserable man is he,* said Solon: *but what was his name? I have heard his name,* answered the stranger, *but do not recollect it. All I remember is, that there was much talk of his wisdom and justice.* Solon, whose apprehensions increased with every reply, was now much disconcerted, and mentioned his own name, asking, *Whether it was not Solon's son that was dead?* The stranger answering in the affirmative, he began to beat his head, and to do and say such things as are usual to men in a transport of grief.* Then Thales taking him by the hand, said with a smile, *These things, which strike down so firm a man as Solon, kept me from marriage and from having children. But take courage, my good friend, for not a word of what has been told you is true.* Hermippus says, he took this story from Patæcus, who used to boast he had the soul of Æsop.

But after all, to neglect the procuring of what is necessary or convenient in life, for fear of losing it, would be acting a very mean and absurd part. By the same rule a man might refuse the enjoyment of riches, or honour, or wisdom, because it is possible for him to be deprived of them. Even the excellent qualities of the mind, the most valuable and pleasing possession in the world, we see destroyed by poisonous drugs or by the violence of some disease. Nay, Thales himself could not be secure from fears, by living single, unless he would renounce all interest in his friends, his relations, and his country. Instead of that, however, he is said to have adopted his sister's son, named Cybithus. Indeed the soul has not only a principle of sense, of understanding, of memory, but of love; and when it has nothing at home to fix its affection upon, it unites itself, and cleaves to something abroad. Strangers or persons of spurious birth often insinuate themselves into such a man's heart, as into a house or land that has no lawful heirs, and, together with love, bring a train of cares and apprehensions

* Whether on this occasion, or on the real loss of a son, is uncertain, Solon being desired not to weep, since weeping would avail nothing; he answered, with much humanity and good sense, *And for this cause I weep.*

for them. It is not uncommon to hear persons of a morose temper, who talk against marriage and a family, uttering the most abject complaints, when a child which they have had by a slave or a concubine, happens to sicken or die. Nay, some have expressed a very great regret upon the death of dogs and horses; whilst others have borne the loss of valuable children, without any affliction, or at least without any indecent sorrow, and have passed the rest of their days with calmness and composure. It is, certainly, weakness, not affection, which brings infinite troubles and fears upon men, who are not fortified by reason against the power of fortune; who have no enjoyment of a present good, because of their apprehensions, and the real anguish they find in considering that, in time, they may be deprived of it. No man, surely, should take refuge in poverty, to guard against the loss of an estate; nor remain in the unsocial state of celibacy, that he may have neither friends nor children to lose; he should be armed by reason against all events. But, perhaps, we have been too diffuse in these sentiments.

When the Athenians, tired out with a long and troublesome war against the Megarensians; for the isle of Salamis, made a law, that no one for the future, under pain of death, should either by speech or writing propose that the city should assert its claim to that island; Solon was very uneasy at so dishonourable a decree, and seeing great part of the youth desirous to begin the war again, being restrained from it only by fear of the law, he feigned himself insane;* and a report spread from his house into the city, that he was out of his senses. Privately, however, he had composed an elegy, and got it by heart, in order to repeat it in public; thus prepared, he sallied out unexpectedly into the market place with a cap upon his head.† A great number of people flocking about him

* When the Athenians were delivered from their fears by the death of Epaminondas, they began to squander away upon shows and plays the money that had been assigned for the pay of the army and navy, and at the same time they made it death for any one to propose a reformation. In that case, Demosthenes did not, like Solon, attack their error, under a pretence of insanity, but boldly and resolutely spoke against it, and by the force of his eloquence brought them to correct it.

† None wore caps but the sick.

there, he got upon the heralds' stone, and sung the elegy which begins thus,

> Hear and attend: from Salamis I came
> To show your error.

This composition is entitled *Salamis*, and consists of a hundred very beautiful lines. When Solon had done, his friends began to express their admiration, and Pisistratus, in particular, exerted himself in persuading the people to comply with his directions; whereupon they repealed the law, once more undertook the war, and invested Solon with the command. The common account of his proceedings is this. He sailed with Pisistratus to Colias, and having seized the women who, according to the custom of the country, were offering sacrifice to Ceres there, he sent a trusty person to Salamis, who was to pretend he was a deserter, and to advise the Megarensians, if they had a mind to seize the principal Athenian matrons, to set sail immediately for Colias. The Megarensians readily embracing the proposal, and sending out a body of men, Solon discovered the ship as it put off from the island; and causing the women directly to withdraw, ordered a number of young men, whose faces were yet smooth, to dress themselves in their habits, caps, and shoes. Thus with weapons concealed under their clothes, they were to dance and play by the sea-side, till the enemy was landed, and the vessel near enough to be seized. Matters being thus ordered, the Megarensians were deceived with the appearance, and ran confusedly on shore, striving which should first lay hold on the women. But they met with so warm a reception, that they were cut off to a man: and the Athenians embarking immediately for Salamis, took possession of the island.

Others deny that it was recovered in this manner, and tell us, that Apollo, being first consulted at Delphi, gave this answer,

> Go, first propitiate the country's chiefs
> Hid in Æsopus' lap; who, when interr'd,
> Fac'd the declining sun.

Upon this, Solon crossed the sea by night, and offered sacrifices to Salamis, to the heroes Periphemus and Cichreus. Then taking five hundred Athenian volunteers who had obtained a decree, that if they conquered the island, the government of it should be invested in them, he sailed with a number of fishing-vessels and one galley

of thirty oars for Salamis, where he cast anchor at a point which looks towards Eubœa.

The Megarensians that were in the place, having heard a confused report of what had happened, betook themselves in a disorderly manner to arms, and sent a ship to discover the enemy. As the ship approached too near, Solon took it, and securing the crew, put in their place some of the bravest of the Athenians, with orders to make the best of their way to the city, as privately as possible. In the mean time, with the rest of his men, he attacked the Megarensians by land; and while these were engaged, those from the ship took the city. A custom which obtained afterwards, seems to bear witness to the truth of this account. For an Athenian ship, once a year, passed silently to Salamis, and the inhabitants coming down upon it with noise and tumult, one man in armour leaped ashore, and ran shouting towards the promontory of Sciradium, to meet those that were advancing by land. Near that place is a temple of Mars erected by Solon: for there it was that he defeated the Megarensians, and dismissed, upon certain conditions, such as were not slain in battle.

However, the people of Megara persisted in their claim till both sides had severely felt the calamities of war, and then they referred the affair to the decision of the Lacedæmonians. Many authors relate that Solon availed himself of a passage in Homer's catalogue of ships, which he alleged before the arbitrators, dexterously inserting a line of his own: for to this verse,

Ajax from Salamis twelve ships commands,

he is said to have added,

And ranks his forces with th' Athenian power.*

But the Athenians look upon this as an idle story, and tell us, that Solon made it appear to the judges, that Philæus and Eurysaces, sons of Ajax, being admitted by the Athenians to the freedom of their city, gave up the island to them, and removed, the one to Brauron, and the other to Melite in Attica: likewise, that the tribe of the Philaidæ, of which Pisistratus was, had its name from that Philæus. He brought another argument against the Me-

* This line could be no sufficient evidence; for there are many passages in Homer which prove that the ships of Ajax were stationed near the Thessalians.

garensians, from the manner of burying in Salamis, which was agreeable to the custom of Athens, and not to that of Megara; for the Megarensians inter the dead with their faces to the east, and the Athenians turn theirs to the west. On the other hand, Hereas of Megara insists, that the Megarensians likewise turn the faces of the dead to the west, and, what is more, that, like the people of Salamis, they put three or four corpses in one tomb, whereas the Athenians have a separate tomb for each. But Solon's cause was farther assisted by certain oracles of Apollo, in which the island was called *Ionian* Salamis. This matter was determined by five Spartans, Critolaides, Amompharetus, Hypsechidas, Anaxilas, and Cleomenes.

Solon acquired considerable honour and authority in Athens by this affair; but he was much more celebrated among the Greeks in general, for negociating succours for the temple at Delphi, against the insolent and injurious behaviour of the Cirrhæans,* and persuading the Greeks to arm for the honour of the god. At his motion, it was that the *Amphyctions* declared war; as Aristotle, among others, testifies, in his book concerning the Pythian games, where he attributes that decree to Solon.—He was not, however, appointed general in that war, as Hermippus relates from Euanthes the Samian. For Æschines the orator says no such thing; and we find in the records of Delphi, that Alcmæon, not Solon, commanded the Athenians on that occasion.

* The inhabitants of Cirrha, a town seated in the bay of Corinth, after having by repeated incursions wasted the territory of Delphi, besieged the city itself from a desire of making themselves masters of the riches contained in the temple Apollo. Advice of this being sent to the *Amphyctions*, who were the states-general of Greece, Solon advised that this matter should be universally resented. Accordingly Clysthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, was sent commander in chief against the Cirrhæans; Alcmæon was general of the Athenian quota; and Solon went as counsellor or assistant to Clysthenes.—When the Greek army had besieged Cirrha some time without any great appearance of success, Apollo was consulted, who answered, that they should not be able to reduce the place, till the waves of the Cirrhæan sea washed the territories of Delphi. This answer struck the army with surprize, from which Solon extricated them by advising Clysthenes to consecrate the whole territories of Cirrha to the Delphic Apollo, whence it would follow that the sea must wash the sacred coast. Pausanias (*in Phocicis*) mentions another stratagem, which was not worthy of the justice of Solon. Cirrha, however, was taken, and became henceforth the arsenal of Delphi.

The execrable proceedings against the accomplices of Cylon,* had long occasioned great troubles in the Athenian state. The conspirators had taken sanctuary in Minerva's temple; but Megacles, then Archon, persuaded them to quit it, and stand trial, under the notion that if they tied a thread to the shrine of the goddess, and kept hold of it, they would still be under her protection. But when they came over against the temple of the furies, the thread broke of itself; upon which Megacles and his colleagues rushed upon them and seized them, as if they had lost their privilege. Such as were out of the temple were stoned; those that fled to the altars were cut in pieces there, and they only were spared who made application to the wives of the magistrates. From that time those magistrates were called *execrable*, and became objects of the public hatred. The remains of Cylon's faction afterwards recovered strength, and kept up the quarrel with the descendants of Megacles. The dispute was greater than ever, and the two parties more exasperated, when Solon, whose authority was now very great, and others of the principal Athenians, interposed, and by intreaties and arguments persuaded the persons called *execrable*, to submit to justice and a fair trial, before three hundred judges selected from the nobility. Myron, of the *Phylensian* ward carried on the impeachment, and they were condemned: As many as were alive, were driven into exile; and the bodies of the dead dug up and cast out beyond the borders of Attica. Amidst these disturbances,

* There was, for a long time after the democracy took place, a strong party against it, who left no measures untried, in order, if possible, to restore their ancient form of government. Cylon, a man of quality, and son-in-law to Theagenes, tyrant of Megara, repined at the sudden change of the magistrates, and had the thoughts of asking that as a favour, which he apprehended to be due to his birthright. He formed, therefore, a design to seize the citadel, which he put in practice in the forty-fifth olympiad, when many of the citizens were gone to the olympic games. Megacles, who was at that time chief archon, with the other magistrates and the whole power of Athens, immediately besieged the conspirators there, and reduced them to such distress, that Cylon and his brother fled, and left the meaner sort to shift for themselves. Such as escaped the sword took refuge, as Plutarch relates, in Minerva's temple; and though they deserved death for conspiring against the government, yet, as the magistrates put them to death in breach of the privilege of sanctuary, they brought upon themselves the indignation of the superstitious Athenians, who deemed such a breach a greater crime than treason.

the Megarensians renewed the war, took Nisæa from the Athenians, and recovered Salamis once more.

About this time the city was likewise afflicted with superstitious fears and strange appearances: and the soothsayers declared, that there were certain abominable crimes which wanted expiation, pointed out by the entrails of the victims. Upon this they sent to Crete for Epimenides the *Phæstian*,* who is reckoned the seventh among the wise men, by those that do not admit Periander into the number. He was reputed a man of great piety, beloved by the gods, and skilled in matters of religion, particularly in what related to inspiration and the sacred mysteries: therefore the men of those days called him the son of the nymph Balte, and one of the *Curetes* revived. When he arrived at Athens, he contracted a friendship with Solon, and privately gave him considerable assistance, preparing the way for the reception of his laws. For he taught the Athenians to be more frugal in their religious worship, and more moderate in their mourning, by intermixing certain sacrifices with the funeral solemnities, and abolishing the cruel and barbarous customs that had generally prevailed among the women before. What is still of greater consequence, by expiations, lustrations, and the erecting of temples and shrines, he hallowed and purified the city, and made the people more observant of justice and more inclined to union.

When he had seen Munychia, and considered it some time, he is reported to have said to those about him,†

* This Epimenides was a very extraordinary person. Diogenus Laertius tells us, that he was the inventor of the art of lustrating or purifying houses, fields, and persons; which, if spoken of Greece, may be true; but Moses had long before taught the Hebrews something of this nature. (*Vide* Levit. xvi.) Epimenides took some sheep that were all black, and others that were all white; these he led into the Areopagus, and turning them loose, directed certain persons to follow them, who should mark where they couched, and there sacrifice them to the local deity. This being done, altars were erected in all these places to perpetuate the memory of this solemn expiation. There were, however, other ceremonies practised for the purpose of lustration, of which Tzetzes, in his poetical chronicle, gives a particular account, but which are too trifling to be mentioned here.

† This prediction was fulfilled 270 years after, when Antipater constrained the Athenians to admit his garrison into that place. Besides this prophecy, Epimenides uttered another during his stay at Athens; for hearing that the citizens were alarmed at the progress of the Persian power at sea, he advised them to make themselves

How blind is man to futurity! If the Athenians could foresee what trouble that place will give them, they would tear it in pieces with their teeth, rather than it should stand. Something similar to this is related of Thales. For he ordered the Milesians to bury him in a certain recluse and neglected place, and foretold, at the same time, that their market place would one day stand there. As for Epimenides, he was held in admiration at Athens; great honours were paid him, and many valuable presents made: yet he would accept of nothing but a branch of the sacred olive, which they gave him at his request; and with that he departed.

When the troubles about Cylon's affair were over, and the sacrilegious persons removed, in the manner we have mentioned, the Athenians relapsed into their old disputes concerning the government; for there were as many parties among them as there were different tracts of land in their country. The inhabitants of the mountainous part were, it seems for a democracy; those of the plains for an oligarchy; and those of the sea-coasts contending for a mixed kind of government, hindered the other two from gaining their point. At the same time, the inequality between the poor and the rich occasioned the greatest discord, and the state was in so dangerous a situation, that there seemed to be no way to quell the seditious, or to save it from ruin, but changing it to a monarchy. So greatly were the poor in debt to the rich, that they were obliged either to pay them a sixth part of the produce of the land (whence they were called *Hectemorii* and *Thetes*) or else to engage their persons to their creditors, who might seize them on failure of payment. Accordingly some made slaves of them, and others sold them to foreigners. Nay, some parents were forced to sell their own children, (for no law forbade it) and to quit the city, to avoid the severe treatment of those usurers. But the greater number, and men of the most spirit, agreed to stand by each other, and to bear such impositions no longer. They determined to choose a trusty person for their leader to deliver those who had failed in their time

easy, for that the Persians would not for many years attempt any thing against the Greeks, and when they did, they would receive greater loss themselves than they would be able to bring upon the states they thought to destroy. *Laert. in Vita & Rimen.*

of payment, to divide the land, and to give an entire new face to the commonwealth.

Then the most prudent of the Athenians cast their eyes upon Solon, as a man least obnoxious to either party, having neither been engaged in oppressions with the rich, nor entangled in necessities with the poor. Him, therefore, they intreated to assist the public in this exigency, and to compose these differences. Phanias the Lesbian asserts, indeed, that Solon, to save the state, dealt artfully with both parties, and privately promised the poor a division of the lands, and the rich a confirmation of their securities. At first he was loth to take the administration upon him, by reason of the avarice of some and the insolence of others; but was, however, chosen archon next after Philombrotus, and at the same time arbitrator and lawgiver; the rich accepting of him readily, as one of *them*, and the poor, as a good and worthy man. They tell us too, that a saying of his, which he had let fall some time before, that *equality causes no war*, was then much repeated, and pleased both the rich and the poor; the latter expecting to come to a balance by their numbers and by the measure of divided lands, and the former to preserve an equality at least, by their dignity and power. Thus both parties being in great hopes, the heads of them were urgent with Solon to make himself king, and endeavoured to persuade him, that he might with better assurance take upon him the direction of a city where he had the supreme authority. Nay, many of the citizens, that leaned to neither party, seeing the intended change difficult to be effected by reason and law, were not against the entrusting of the government to the hands of one wise and just man. Some, moreover, acquaint us, that he received this oracle from Apollo,

> Seize, seize the helm; the reeling vessel guide:
> With aiding patriots stem the raging tide.

His friends, in particular told him it would appear that he wanted courage, if he rejected the monarchy for fear of the name of tyrant; as if the sole and supreme power would not soon become a lawful sovereignty through the virtues of him that received it. Thus formerly, (said they) the Eubœans set up Tynnondas and lately the Mityle-

næans Pittacus for their prince.* None of these things moved Solon from his purpose, and the answer he is said to have given his friends is this, *Absolute monarchy is a fair field, but it has no outlet.* And in one of his poems he thus addresses himself to his friend Phocus,

> ——If I spared my country,
> If gilded violence and tyrannic sway
> Could never charm me; thence no shame accrues;
> Still the mild honour of my name I boast,
> And find my empire there.——

Whence it is evident that his reputation was very great, before he appeared in the character of a legislator. As for the ridicule he was exposed to for rejecting kingly power, he has described it in the following verses:

> Nor wisdom's palm, nor deep-laid policy
> Can Solon boast. For when its noblest blessings
> Heaven pour'd into his lap, he spurn'd them from him.
> Where was his sense and spirit, when enclos'd
> He found the choicest prey, nor deign'd to draw it?
> Who, to command fair Athens but one day,
> Would not himself, with all his race, have fallen
> Contented on the morrow?

Thus he has introduced the multitude and men of low minds, as discoursing about him. But though he rejected absolute power, he proceeded with spirit enough in the administration: he did not make any concessions in behalf of the powerful, nor, in the framing of his laws, did he indulge the humour of his constituents. Where the former establishment was tolerable, he neither applied remedies, nor used the incision-knife, lest he should put the whole in disorder, and not have power to settle or compose it afterwards in the temperature he could wish. He only made such alterations as he might bring the people to acquiesce in by persuasion, or compel them to by his authority, making (as he says) *force and right conspire.* Hence it was, that having the question afterwards put to

* Pittacus one of the seven wise men of Greece, made himself master of Mitylene; for which, Alcæus, who was of the same town, cotemporary with Pittacus, and, as a poet, a friend to liberty, satirized him, as he did the other tyrants. Pittacus disregarded his censures, and having by his authority quelled the seditions of his citizens, and established peace and harmony among them, he voluntarily quitted his power, and restored his country to its liberty.

him, *Whether he had provided the best of laws for the Athenians*, he answered, *The best they were capable of receiving*. And as the moderns observe, that the Athenians used to qualify the harshness of things by giving them softer and politer names, calling whores *mistresses*, tributes *contributions*, garrisons *guards*, and prisons *castles*; so Solon seems to be the first that distinguished the cancelling of debts by the name of a *discharge*. For this was the first of his public acts, that debts should be forgiven, and that no man, for the future, should take the body of his debtor for security. Though Androtion and some others say, that it was not by the cancelling of debts, but by moderating the interest, that the poor were relieved, they thought themselves so happy in it, that they gave the name of *discharge* to this act of humanity, as well as to the enlarging of measures and the value of money, which went along with it. For he ordered the *minæ*, which before went but for seventy-three *drachmas*, to go for a hundred: so that, as they paid the same in value, but much less in weight, those that had great sums to pay were relieved, while such as received them were no losers.

The greater part of writers, however, affirm, that it was the abolition of past securities that was called a *discharge*, and with these the poems of Solon agree. For in them he values himself on *having taken away the marks of mortgaged land*,* *which before were almost every where set up, and made free those fields which before were bound*: and not only so, but *of such citizens as were seizable by their creditors for debt, some*, he tells us, *he had brought back from other countries, where they had wandered so long, that they had forgot the Attic dialect, and others he had set at liberty, who had experienced a cruel slavery at home*.

This affair, indeed, brought upon him the greatest trouble he met with: For when he undertook the annulling of debts, and was considering of a suitable speech and a proper method of introducing the business, he told some of his most intimate friends, namely, Conon, Clinias, and Hipponicus, that he intended only to abolish the debts, and not to meddle with the lands. These friends of his hastening to make their advantage of the secret, before the decree took place, borrowed large sums of the

* The Athenians had a custom of fixing up billets, to shew that houses or lands were mortgaged.

rich, and purchased estates with them. Afterwards when the decree was published, they kept their possessions without paying the money they had taken up; which brought great reflections upon Solon, as if he had not been imposed upon with the rest, but were rather an accomplice in the fraud. This charge, however, was soon removed, by his being the first to comply with the law, and remitting a debt of five talents, which he had out at interest. Others, among whom is Polyzelus the Rhodian, say it was fifteen talents. But his friends went by the name of *Chreocopi dæ* or *debt-cutters* ever after.

The method he took, satisfied neither the poor nor the rich. The latter were displeased by the cancelling of their bonds; and the former at not finding a division of lands: upon this they had fixed their hopes, and they complained that he had not, like Lycurgus, made all the citizens equal in estate. Lycurgus, however, being the eleventh from Hercules, and having reigned many years in Lacedæmon, had acquired great authority, interest and friends, of which he knew very well how to avail himself in setting up a new form of government. Yet he was obliged to have recourse to force rather than persuasion, and had an eye struck out in the dispute, before he could bring it to a lasting settlement, and establish such an union and equality, as left neither rich nor poor in the city. On the other hand, Solon's estate was but moderate, not superior to that of some commoners, and therefore he attempted not to erect such a commonwealth as that of Lycurgus, considering it as out of his power: he proceeded as far as he thought he could be supported by the confidence the people had in his probity and wisdom.

That he answered not the expectations of the generality, but offended them by falling short, appears from these verses of his——

> Those eyes with joy once sparkling when they view'd me,
> With cold, oblique regard, behold me now.

And a little after——

> ——Yet who but Solon
> Could have spoke peace to their tumultuous waves,
> And not have sunk beneath them?*

*——παρ εξελη γαλα is a proverbial expression, which will not bear a literal prose translation, much less a poetical one: it was necessary, therefore, to give a new turn to the sentence, only keeping the sense in view.

But being soon sensible of the utility of the decree, they laid aside their complaints, offered a public sacrifice which they called *seisacthia*, or the sacrifice of the *discharge*, and constituted Solon lawgiver and superintendant of the commonwealth; committting to him the regulation not of a part only, but the whole, magistracies, assemblies, courts of judicature, and senate; and leaving him to determine the qualifications, number, and time of meeting for them all, as well as to abrogate or continue the former constitutions, at his pleasure.

First then, he repealed the law of Draco,* except those concerning murder, because of the severity of the punishments they appointed, which for almost all offences were capital; even those that were convicted of idleness were to suffer death, and such as stole only a few apples or pot-herbs, were to be punished in the same manner as sacrilegious persons and murderers. Hence a saying of Demades, who lived long after, was much admired, that *Draco wrote his laws not with ink, but with blood.* And he himself being asked, *Why he made death the punishment for most offences*, answered, *Small ones deserve it, and I can find no greater for the most heinous.*

In the next place, Solon took an estimate of the estates of the citizens; intending to leave the great offices in the hands of the rich, but to give the rest of the people a share in other departments which they had not before.

* Draco was archon in the second, though some say in the last, year of the thirty-ninth Olympiad, about the year before Christ 623. Though the name of this great man occurs frequently in history, yet we no where find so much as ten lines together concerning him and his institutions. He may be considered as the first legislature of the Athenians; for the laws, or rather precepts, of Triptolemus were very few, viz. *Honour your parents; worship the gods; hurt not animals;* Draco was the first of the Greeks that punished adultery with death; and he esteemed murder so high a crime, that to imprint a deep abhorrence of it in the minds of men, he ordained that process should be carried on even against inanimate things, if they accidentally caused the death of any person. But besides murder and adultery, which deserved death, he made a number of smaller offences capital; and that brought almost all his laws into disuse. The extravagant severity of them, like an edge too finely ground, hindered his *thesmoi*, as he called them, from striking deep. Porphyry (*de abstinent*) has preserved one of them concerning divine worship, "It is an everlasting law in Attica, that the gods are to be worshipped, and the heroes also, according to the customs of the ancestors, and in private only with a proper address, first fruits, and annual libations."

Such as had a yearly income of five hundred measures in wet or dry goods, he placed in the first rank, and called them *Pentacosiomedimni*:* The second consisted of those that could keep a horse, or whose lands produced three hundred measures; these were of the *equestrian* order and called *Hippiodatelountes*. And those of the third class, who had but two hundred measures, were called *Zeugitæ*. The rest were named *Thetes*, and not admitted to any office; they had only a right to appear and give their vote in the general assembly of the people. This seemed at first but a slight privilege, but afterwards shewed itself a matter of great importance; for most causes came at last to be decided by them; and in such matters as were under the cognizance of the magistrates there lay an appeal to the people. Besides, he is said to have drawn up his laws in an obscure and ambiguous manner, on purpose to enlarge the authority of the popular tribunal. For as they could not adjust their differences; by the letter of the law, they were obliged to have recourse to living judges; I mean the whole body of citizens, who therefore had all controversies brought before them, and were in a manner superior to the laws. Of this equality he himself takes notice in these words:

> By me the people held their native rights
> Uninjured, unoppress'd—The great restrain'd
> From lawless violence, and the poor from rapine,
> By me, their mutual shield.———

Desirous yet farther to strengthen the common people, he impowered any man whatever to enter an action for one that was injured. If a person was assaulted, or suffered damage or violence, another that was able and willing to do it, might prosecute the offender. Thus the lawgiver wisely accustomed the citizens, as members of one body, to feel and to resent one another's injuries. And we,

* The *Pentacosiomedimni* paid a talent to the public treasury; the *Hippodatelountes*, as the word signifies, were obliged to find a horse, and to serve as cavalry in the wars; the *Zeugitæ* were so called, as being the middle rank between the knights and those of the lowest order (for rowers who have the middle bench between the Thamalites and the Thranites, are called *Zeugitæ*;) and though the *Thetes* had barely each a vote in the general assemblies, yet that (as Plutarch observes) appeared in time to be a great privilege, most causes being brought by appeal before the people.

are told of a saying of his agreeable to this law: being asked, *What city was best modelled?* he answered, *That, where those who are not injured are no less ready to prosecute and punish offenders than those who are.*

When these points were adjusted, he established the council of the *areopagus*.* which was to consist of such as had borne the office of *archon*,† and himself was one of the number. But observing that the people, now discharged from their debts, grew insolent and imperious, he proceeded to constitute another council or senate, of four hundred, ‡ a hundred out of each tribe, by whom all

* The court of *areopagus*, though settled long before, had lost much of its power by Draco's preferring the ephetæ. In ancient times, and till Solon became legislator, it consisted of such persons as were most conspicuous in the state for their wealth, power, and probity; but Solon made it a rule that such only should have a seat in it as had borne the office of *archon*. This had the effect he designed, it raised the reputation of the *areopagites* very high, and rendered their decrees so venerable, that none contested or repined at them through a long course of ages.

† After the exstinction of the race of the Medontidæ, the Athenians made the office of *archon* annual; and, instead of one, they created nine *archons*. By the latter expedient, they provided against the too great power of a single person, as by the former they took away all apprehension of the *archons* setting up for sovereigns. In one word, they attained now what they had long sought, the making their supreme magistrates dependent on the people. This remarkable æra of the completion of the Athenian democracy was, according to the *Marmora*, in the first year of the xxivth Olympiad, before Christ 684. That these magistrates might however retain sufficient authority and dignity, they had high titles and great honours annexed to their offices. The first was styled by way of eminence *The Archon*, and the year was distinguished by his name. The second was called *Basileus*, that is, *king*; for they chose to have that title considered as a secondary one. This officer had the care of religion. The third had the name of *Polemarch*, for war was his particular province. The other six had the title of *Thesmothetæ*, and were considered as the guardians of their laws. These *archons* continued till the time of the emperor Callienus.

‡ The number of tribes were increased by Calisthenes to ten, after he had driven out the Pisistratida; and then this senate consisted of five hundred, fifty being chosen out of each tribe. Towards the close of the year the president of each tribe gave in a list of candidates, out of whom the senators were elected by lot. The senators then appointed the officers called *prytanes*. The *prytanes*, while the senate consisted of 500, were 50 in number; and, for the avoiding of confusion, ten of these presided a week, during which space they were called *proedri*, and out of them an *epistates* or president was chosen, whose office lasted but one day

affairs were to be previously considered; and ordered that no matter, without their approbation, should be laid before the general assembly. In the mean time the high court of the *areopagus* were to be the inspectors and guardians of the laws. Thus he supposed the commonwealth, secured by two councils, as by two anchors, would be less liable to be shaken by tumults, and the people would become more orderly and peaceable. Most writers, as we have observed, affirm that the council of the *areopagus* was of Solon's appointing: and it seems greatly to confirm their assertion, that Draco has made no mention of the *areopagites*, but in capital causes constantly addresses himself to the *ephetæ*: yet the eighth law of Solon's thirteenth table is set down in these very words, *Whoever were declared infamous, before Solon's archonship, let them be restored in honour, except such as having been condemned in the areopagus, or by the ephetæ, or by the kings in the Prytaneum, for murder or robbery, or attempting to usurp the government, had fled their country, before this law was made.* This on the contrary, shows, that before Solon was chief magistrate and delivered his laws, the council of the *areopagus* was in being. For who could have been condemned in the *areopagus* before Solon's time, if he was the first that erected it into a court of judicature? Unless, perhaps, there be some obscurity or deficiency in the text, and the meaning be, that such as have been convicted of crimes that are now cognizable before the *areopagites*, the *ephetæ*,* and *prytanes*, shall continue infamous, whilst others are restored. But this I submit to the judgment of the reader.

The most peculiar and surprising of his other laws, is that which declares the man infamous who stands neuter in time of sedition.† It seems, he would not have us be

* The *ephetæ* were first appointed in the reign of Demophon, the son of Theseus, for the trying of wilful murders and cases of manslaughter. They consisted at first of fifty Athenians and as many Argives; but Draco excluded the Argives, and ordered that it should be composed of fifty-one Athenians, who were all to be turned of fifty years of age. He also fixed their authority above that of the areopagites; but Solon brought them under that court, and limited their jurisdiction.

† Aulus Gellius, who has preserved the very words of this law, adds, that one who so stood neuter, should lose his houses, his country, and estate, and be sent out an exile. *Noct. Attic.* l. ii. c. 12.

Plutarch in another place condemns this law; but Gellius highly commends it, and assigns this reason—The wise and just, as well as the envious and wicked, being obliged to choose some side, matters

indifferent and unaffected with the fate of the public, when our concerns are upon a safe bottom ; nor when we are in health, be insensible to the distempers and griefs of our country. He would have us espouse the better and juster cause, and hazard every thing in defence of it, rather than wait in safety to see which side the victory will incline to. That law, too, seems quite ridiculous and absurd, which permits a rich heiress, whose husband happens to be impotent, to console herself with his nearest relations. Yet some say, this law was very properly levelled against those, who, conscious of their own inability, match with heiresses for the sake of the portion, and under colour of law do violence to nature. For when they know that such heiresses may make choice of others to grant their favours to, they will either let those matches alone, or if they do marry in that manner, they must suffer the shame of their avarice and dishonesty. It is right, that the heiress should not have liberty to choose at large but only amongst her husband's relations, that the child which is born may, at least, belong to his kindred and family. Agreeable to this is the direction, that the bride and bridegroom should be shut up together and eat of the same quince ;* and that the husband of an heiress should approach her at least three times in a month. For, though they may happen not to have children, yet it is a mark of honour and regard due from a man to the chastity of his wife : it removes many uneasinesses, and prevents differences from proceeding to an absolute breach.

In all other marriages, he ordered that no dowries should be given : the bride was to bring with her only three suits of clothes, and some household stuff of small value.† For he did not choose that marriages should be

were easily accommodated ; whereas if the latter only, as is generally the case with other cities, had the management of factions, they would, for private reasons, be continually kept up, to the great hurt, if not the utter ruin of the state.

* The eating of the quince, which was not peculiar to an heiress and her husband, (for all new married people eat it) implied that their discourses ought to be pleasant to each other, that fruit making the breath sweet.

† The bride brought with her an earthen pan called *phrogeteon*, wherein barley was parched ; to signify that she undertook the business of the house, and would do her part towards providing for the family.

made with mercenary or venal views, but would have that union cemented by the endearment of children, and every other instance of love and friendship. Nay, Dionysius himself, when his mother desired to be married to a young Syracusan, told her, *He had, indeed, by his tyranny, broke through the laws of his country, but he could not break those of nature, by countenancing so disproportioned a match.* And surely such disorders should not be tolerated in any state, nor such matches where there is no equality of years, or inducements of love, or probability that the end of marriage will be answered. So that to an old man who marries a young woman, some prudent magistrate or lawgiver might express himself in the words addressed to Philoctetes,

Poor soul! how fit art thou to marry!

And if he found a young man in the house of a rich old woman, like a partridge, growing fat in his private services, he would remove him to some young virgin who wanted a husband. But enough of this.

That law of Solon's is also justly commended, which forbids men to speak ill of the dead. For piety requires us to consider the deceased as sacred; justice calls upon us to spare those that are not in being: and good policy, to prevent the perpetuating of hatred. He forbade his people also to revile the living, in a temple, in a court of justice, in the great assembly of the people, or at the public games. He that offended in this respect, was to pay three *drachmas* to the person injured, and two to the public. Never to restrain anger is, indeed, a proof of weakness or want of breeding; and always to guard against it, is very difficult, and to some persons impossible. Now, what is enjoined by law should be practicable, if the legislator desires to punish a few to some good purpose, and not many to no purpose.

His law concerning wills has likewise its merit. For before his time the Athenians were not allowed to dispose of their estates by will; the houses and other substance of the deceased were to remain among his relations. But he permitted any one that had not children, to leave his possessions to whom he pleased; thus preferring the tie of friendship to that of kindred, and choice to necessity, he gave every man the full and free disposal of his own. Yet he allowed not all sorts of legacies, but those only that

were not extorted by phrenzy, the consequence of disease or poisons, by imprisonment or violence, or the persuasions of a wife. For he considered inducements that operated against reason, as no better than force: to be deceived was with *him* the same thing as to be compelled; and he looked upon pleasure to be as great a perverter as pain.*

He regulated, moreover, the journeys of women, their mournings and sacrifices, and endeavoured to keep them clear of all disorder and excess. They were not to go out of town with more than three habits; the provisions they carried with them, were not to exceed the value of an *obolus*; their basket was not to be above a cubit high; and in the night they were not to travel but in a carriage, with a torch before them. At funerals they were forbid to tear themselves,† and no hired mourner was to utter lamentable notes, or to act any thing else that tended to excite sorrow. They were not permitted to sacrifice an ox on those occasions; or to bury more than three garments with the body; or to visit any tombs beside those of their own family, except at the time of interment. Most of these things are likewise forbidden by our laws, with the addition of this circumstance, that those who offend in such a manner are fined by the censors of the women, as giving way to weak passions and childish sorrow.

As the city was filled with persons who assembled from all parts, on account of the great security in which people lived in Attica, Solon observing this, and that the country withal was poor and barren, and that merchants who traffic by sea, do not use to import their goods where they can have nothing in exchange, turned the attention of the citizens to manufactures. For this purpose he made a law, that no son should be obliged to maintain his fa-

* He likewise ordained that adopted persons should make no will, but as soon as they had children lawfully begotten, they were at liberty to return into the family whence they were adopted; or if they continued in it to their death, the estates reverted to the relations of the persons who adopted them. DEMOSTH. *in Orat. Leptin.*

† Demosthenes (*in Timocr.*) recites Solon's directions as to funerals as follows: "Let the dead bodies be laid out in the house, according as the deceased gave order, and the day following before sun-rise carried forth. Whilst the body is carrying to the grave let the men go before, the women follow. It shall not be lawful for any woman to enter upon the goods of the dead, and to follow the body to the grave under threescore years of age, except such as are within the degrees of cousins."

ther, if he had not taught him a trade.* As for Lycurgus, whose city was clear of strangers, and whose country, according to Euripides, was sufficient for twice the number of inhabitants; where there was, moreover a multitude of *Helotes*, who were not only to be kept constantly employed, but to be humbled and worn out by servitude; it was right for him to set the citizens free from laborious and mechanic arts, and to employ them in arms, as the only art fit for them to learn and exercise. But Solon, rather adapting his laws to the state of his country, than his country to his laws, and perceiving that the soil of Attica, which hardly rewarded the husbandman's labour, was far from being capable of maintaining a lazy multitude, ordered that trades should be accounted honourable; that the council of the *areopagus* should examine into every man's means of subsisting, and chastise the idle

But that law was more rigid, which (as Heraclides of Pontus informs us) excused bastards from relieving their fathers. Nevertheless, the man that disregards so honourable a state as marriage, does not take a woman for the sake of children, but merely to indulge his appetite. He has, therefore, his reward; and there remains no pretence for him to upbraid those children, whose very birth he has made a reproach to them.

In truth, his laws concerning women, in general appear very absurd. For he permitted any one to kill an adulterer taken in the fact;† but if a man committed a rape upon a free woman, he was only to be fined a hundred drachmas; if he gained his purpose by persuasion, twenty; but prostitutes were excepted, because they have their price. And he would not allow them to sell a daughter or sister, unless she were taken in an act of dishonour before marriage. But to punish the same fault sometimes in a severe and rigorous manner, and sometimes lightly and as it were in sport, with a trivial fine, is not agreeable to reason: unless the scarcity of money

* He that was thrice convicted of idleness, was to be declared *infamous*. Herodotus (l. vii.) and Diodorus Siculus (l. i.) agree that a law of this kind was in use in Egypt It is probable therefore that Solon, who was thoroughly acquainted with the learning of that nation, borrowed it from them.

† No adulteress was to adorn herself, or to assist at the public sacrifices; and in case she did, he gave liberty to any one to tear her clothes off her back, and beat her into the bargain.

in Athens, at that time, made a pecuniary mulct a heavy one. And indeed in the valuation of things for the sacrifice, a sheep and a *medimnus* of corn were reckoned each at a *drachma* only. To the victor in the Isthmean games, he appointed a reward of a hundred *drachmas*; and to the victor in the Olympian, five hundred.* He that caught a he-wolf, was to have five *drachmas*; he that took a she-wolf, one: and the former sum (as Demetrius Phalereus asserts) was the value of an ox, the latter of a sheep. Though the prices which he fixes in his sixteenth table for select victims, were probably much higher than the common, yet they are small in comparison of the present. The Athenians of old were great enemies to wolves, because their country was better for pasture than tillage: and some say their tribes had not their names from the sons of Ion, but from the different occupations they followed; the soldiers being called *hoplitæ*, the artificers *ergades*; and of the other two, the husbandmen *teleontes*; and the graziers *ægicores*.

As Attica was not supplied with water from perennial rivers, lakes or springs,† but chiefly by wells dug for that purpose, he made a law, that where there was a public well, all within the distance of four furlongs, should make use of it: but where the distance was greater, they were to provide a well of their own. And if they dug ten fathoms deep in their own ground, and could find no water, they had liberty to fill a vessel of six gallons twice a day at their neighbours. Thus he thought it proper to assist persons in real necessity, but not to encourage idleness. His regulations with respect to the planting of trees, were also very judicious. He that planted any tree in his field, was to place it at least five feet from his neighbour's ground; and if it was a fig-tree or an olive, nine; for these extend their roots farther than others, and their neighbourhood is prejudicial to some trees, not only as they take away the nourishment, but as their effluvia is noxious. He that would dig a pit

* At the same time he contracted the rewards bestowed upon wrestlers, esteeming such gratuities useless and even dangerous; as they tended to encourage idleness by putting men upon wasting that time in exercises which ought to be spent in providing for their families.

† Strabo tells us there was a spring of fresh water near the Lyceum; but the soil of Attica in general was dry, and the rivers Ilissus and Eridamus did not run constantly.

or a ditch, was to dig it as far from another man's ground, as it was deep; and if any one would raise stocks of bees, he was to place them three hundred feet from those already raised by another.

Of all the products of the earth, he allowed none to be sold to strangers, but oil: and whoever presumed to export any thing else, the *archon* was solemnly to declare him accursed, or to pay himself a hundred *drachmas* into the public treasury. This law is in the first table. And therefore it is not absolutely improbable, what some affirm, that the exportation of figs was formerly forbidden, and that the informer against the delinquents was called a *sycophant*.

He likewise enacted a law for reparation of damage received from beasts. A dog that had bit a man was to be delivered up bound to a log of four cubits long;* an agreeable contrivance for security against such an animal.

But the wisdom of the law concerning the naturalizing of foreigners, is a little dubious; because it forbids the freedom of the city to be granted to any but such as are for ever exiled from their own country, or transplant themselves to Athens with their whole family, for the sake of exercising some manual trade. This, we are told, he did, not with a view to keep strangers at a distance, but rather to invite them to Athens, upon the sure hope of being admitted to the privilege of citizens: and he imagined the settlement of those might be entirely depended upon, who had been driven from their native country, or had quitted it by choice.

That law is peculiar to Solon, which regulates the going to entertainments made at the public charge, by him called *parasitien*.† For he does not allow the same per-

* This law, and several others of Solon's were taken into the twelve tables. In the consulate of T. Romilius and C. Veturius, in the year of Rome 293, the Romans sent deputies to Athens, to transcribe his laws, and those of the other lawgivers of Greece, in order to form thereby a body of laws for Rome.

† In the first ages the name of *parasite* was venerable and sacred, for it properly signified one that was a messmate at the table of sacrifices. There were in Greece several persons particularly honoured with this title, much like those whom the Romans called *epulones*, a religious order instituted by Numa. Solon ordained that every tribe should offer a sacrifice once a month, and at the end of the sacrifice make a public entertainment, at which all who were of that tribe should be obliged to assist by turns.

son to repair to them often, and he lays a penalty upon such as refuse to go when invited; looking upon the former as a mark of epicurism, and the latter of contempt of the public.

All his laws were to continue in force for a hundred years, and were written upon wooden tables, which might be turned round in the oblong cases that contained them. Some small remains of them are preserved in the *Prytaneum* to this day. They were called *cyrbes*, as Aristotle tells us; and Cratinus, the comic poet, thus spoke of them:

> By the great names of Solon and of Draco,
> Whose cyrbes now but serve to boil our pulse.

Some say, those tables were properly called *cyrbes*, on which were written the rules for religious rites and sacrifices and the other *axones*. The senate, in a body, bound themselves by oath to establish the laws of Solon; and the *thesmothetæ*, or *guardians of the laws*, severally took an oath in a particular form, by the stone in the market-place, that for every law they broke, each would dedicate a golden statue at Delphi of the same weight with himself.*

Observing the irregularity of the months,† and that the moon neither rose nor set at the same time with the sun, as it often happened that in the same day she over-

* Gold in Solon's time was so scarce in Greece, that when the Spartans were ordered by the oracle to gild the face of Apollo's statue, they inquired in vain for gold all over Greece, and were directed by the pythoness to buy some of Crœsus king of Lydia.

† Solon discovered the falseness of Thales's maxim, that the moon performed her revolution in thirty days, and found that the true time was twenty-nine days and a half. He directed, therefore, that each of the twelve months should be accounted twenty-nine or thirty days alternately. By this means a lunar year was formed, of 354 days; and to reconcile it to the solar year, he ordered a month of twenty-two days to be intercalated every two years, and at the end of the second two years, he directed that a month of twenty-three days should be intercalated. He likewise engaged the Athenians to divide their months into three parts, styled the *beginning*, *middling*, and *ending*; each of these consisted of ten days, when the month was thirty days long, and the last of nine, when it was nine-and-twenty days long. In speaking of the two first parts, they reckoned according to the usual order of numbers, viz. the first, &c. day of the moon beginning; the first, second, &c. of the moon middling; but with respect to the last part of the month, they reckoned backwards, that is, instead of saying the first, second, &c. day of the moon ending, they said the tenth, ninth, &c. of the moon ending. This is a circumstance which should be carefully attended to.

took and passed by him, he ordered that day to be called *hene kai nea* (the old and the new); assigning the part of it before the conjunction, to the old month, and the rest to the beginning of the new. He seems, therefore, to have been the first who understood that verse in Homer, which makes mention of a day wherein *the old month ended, and the new began.**

The day following he called the *new moon*. After the twentieth he counted not by adding, but subtracting, to the thirtieth, according to the decreasing phases of the moon.

When his laws took place,† Solon had his visitors every day, finding fault with some of them, and commending others, or advising him to make certain addition, or retrenchments. But the greater part came to desire a reason for this or that article, or a clear and precise explication of the meaning and design. Sensible that he could not well excuse himself from complying with their desires, and that, if he indulged their importunity, the doing it might give offence, he determined to withdraw from the difficulty, and to get rid at once of their cavils and exceptions. For, as he himself observes,

Not all the greatest enterprize can please.

* Odyss. xiv. 162.

† Plutarch has only mentioned such of Solon's laws as he thought the most singular and remarkable; Diogenes, Laertius, and Demosthenes have given us account of some others that ought not to be forgotten.—"Let not the guardian live in the same house with the mother of his wards. Let not the tuition of minors be committed to him who is next after them in the inheritance. Let not an engraver keep the impression of a seal which he has engraved. Let him that puts out the eye of a man who has but one, lose both his own. If an archon is taken in liquor, let him be put to death. Let him who refuses to maintain his father and mother, be infamous: and so let him that has consumed his patrimony. Let him who refuses to go to war, flies, or behaves cowardly, be debarred the precincts of the *forum* and places of public worship. If a man surprises his wife in adultery, and lives with her afterwards, let him be deemed infamous. Let him who frequents the houses of lewd women, be debarred from speaking in the assemblies of the people. Let a pander be pursued, and put to death if taken. If any man steal in the day-time, let him be carried to the eleven officers; if in the night, it shall be lawful to kill him in the act, or to wound him in the pursuit, and carry him to the aforesaid officers: if he steals common things, let him pay double, and if the convictor thinks fit, be exposed in chains five days; if he is guilty of sacrilege, let him be put to death."

Under pretence, therefore, of traffic, he set sail for another country, having obtained leave of the Athenians for ten years absence. In that time he hoped his laws would become familiar to them.

His first voyage was to Egypt, where he abode some time, as he himself relates,

> On the Canopian shore, by Nile's deep mouth.

There he conversed upon points of philosophy, with Psenophis the Heliopolitan, and Senchis the Saite, the most learned of the Egyptian priests; and having an account from them of the *Atlantic* Islands* (as Plato informs us) he attempted to describe it to the Grecians in a poem.—From Egypt he sailed to Cyprus, and there was honoured with the best regards of Philocyprus, one of the kings of that island, who reigned over a small city built by Demophon the son of Theseus, near the river Clarius, in a strong situation indeed, but very indifferent soil. As there was an agreeable plain below, Solon persuaded him to build a larger and pleasanter city there, and to remove the inhabitants of the other to it. He also assisted in laying out the whole, and building it in the best manner for convenience and defence: so that Philocyprus in a short time had it so well peopled, as to excite the envy of the other princes. And therefore, though the former city was called *Aipeia*, yet in honour of Solon, he called the new one *Soli*. He himself speaks of the building of this city, in his elegies, addressing himself to Philocyprus:

> For you be long the Solian throne decreed!
> For you, a race of prosperous sons succeed!

* Plato finished this history from Solon's memoirs, as may be seen in his Timæus, and Critias. He pretends that this Atlantis, an island situated in the Atlantic ocean, was bigger than Asia and Africa, and that notwithstanding its vast extent, it was drowned in one day and night. Diodorus Siculus, says, the Carthaginians, who discovered it, made it death for any one to settle in it. Amidst a number of conjectures concerning it, one of the most probable is, that in those days the Africans had some knowledge of America. Another opinion, worth mentioning, is, that the *Atlantides* or *Fortunate* Islands were what we now call the Canaries. Homer thus describes them,

> Stern winter smiles on that auspicious clime:
> The fields are florid with unfading prime.
> Mould the round hail, or flake the fleecy snow;
> But from the breezy deep the blest inhale
> The fragrant murmurs of the western gale. POPE.

If in those scenes, to her so justly dear,
My hand a blooming city help'd to rear,
May the sweet voice of smiling Venus bless,
And speed me home with honours and success!

As for his interview with Crœsus, some pretend to prove from chronology, that it is fictitious. But since the story is so famous, and so well attested, nay, (what is more) so agreeable to Solon's character, so worthy of his wisdom and magnanimity, I cannot prevail with myself to reject it for the sake of certain chronological tables, which thousands are correcting to this day, without being able to bring them to any certainty. Solon, then, is said to have gone to Sardis at the request of Crœsus; and when he came there, he was affected much in the same manner as a person born in an inland country, when he first goes to see the ocean: for as he takes every great river he comes to for the sea; so Solon, as he passed through the court, and saw many of the nobility richly dressed, and walking in great pomp amidst a crowd of attendants and guards, took each of them for Crœsus. At last when he was conducted into the presence, he found the king set off with whatever can be imagined curious and valuable, either in beauty of colours, elegance of golden ornaments, or splendor of jewels; in order that the grandeur and variety of the scene might be as striking as possible. Solon, standing over against the throne, was not at all surprised, nor did he pay those compliments that were expected; on the contrary, it was plain to all persons of discernment that he despised such vain ostentation and littleness of pride. Crœsus then ordered his treasures to be opened, and his magnificent apartments and furniture to be shown him; but this was quite a needless trouble; for Solon in one view of the king was able to read his character. When he had seen all, and was conducted back, Crœsus asked him, *If he had ever beheld a happier man than he?* Solon answered, *He had, and that the person was one Tellus, a plain but worthy citizen of Athens, who left valuable children behind him; and who having been above the want of necessaries all his life, died gloriously fighting for his country.* By this time he appeared to Crœsus to be a strange, uncouth kind of rustic, who did not measure happiness by the quantity of gold and silver, but could prefer the life and death of a private and mean

person to *his* high dignity and power. However, he asked him again, *Whether, after Tellus, he knew another happier man in the world?* Solon answered, *Yes, Cleobis and Biton, famed for their brotherly affection, and dutiful behaviour to their mother; for the oxen not being ready, they put themselves in the harness, and drew their mother to Juno's temple, who was extremely happy in having such sons, and moved forward amidst the blessings of the people. After the sacrifice they drank a cheerful cup with their friends, and then laid down to rest, but rose no more; for they died in the night without sorrow or pain, in the midst of so much glory. Well!* said Crœsus, now highly displeased, *and do you not then rank us in the number of happy men?* Solon, unwilling either to flatter him, or to exasperate him more, replied, *King of Lydia, as God has given the Grecks a moderate proportion of other things, so likewise he has favoured them with a democratic spirit and a liberal kind of wisdom, which has no taste for the splendors of royalty. Moreover, the vicissitudes of life, suffer us not to be elated, by any present good fortune, or to admire that felicity, which is liable to change. Futurity carries for every man many various and uncertain events in its bosom. He, therefore, whom heaven blesses with success to the last, is in our estimation the happy man. But the happiness of him who still lives, and has the dangers of life to encounter, appears to us no better than that of a champion, before the combat is determined, and while the crown is uncertain.* With these words Solon departed, leaving Crœsus chagrined, but not instructed.

At that time Æsop, the fabulist, was at the court of Crœsus, who had sent for him, and carressed him not a little. He was concerned at the unkind reception Solon met with, and thereupon gave him this advice, *A man should either not converse with kings at all, or say what is agreeable to them*: To which Solon replied, *Nay, but he should either not do it at all, or say what is useful to them.*

Though Crœsus at that time held our lawgiver in contempt; yet when he was defeated in his wars with Cyrus; when his city was taken, himself made prisoner, and laid bound upon the pile in order to be burnt, in the presence of Cyrus and all the Persians, he cried out as loud as he possibly could, "Solon! Solon! Solon!" Cyrus, surprised at this, sent to inquire of him, "What god or man it

was, whom alone he thus invoked under so great a calamity ?" Crœsus answered without the least disguise, "He is one of the wise men of Greece, whom I sent for, not with a design to hear his wisdom, or to learn what might be of service to me, but that he might see and extend the reputation of that glory, the loss of which I find a much greater misfortune, than the possession of it was a blessing. My exalted state was only an exterior advantage, the happiness of opinion ; but the reverse plunges me into real sufferings, and ends in misery irremediable. This was foreseen by that great man, who forming a conjecture of the future from what he then saw, advised me to consider the end of life, and not to rely or grow insolent upon uncertainties." When this was told Cyrus, who was a much wiser man than Crœsus, finding Solon's maxim confirmed by an example before him, he not only set Crœsus at liberty, but honoured him with his protection as long as he lived. Thus Solon had the glory of saving the life of one of these kings, and of instructing the other.

During his absence, the Athenians were much divided among themselves, Lycurgus being at the head of the low country,* Megacles, the son of Alcmæon, of the people that lived near the sea-coast, and Pisistratus of the mountaineers ; among which last was a multitude of labouring people, whose enmity was chiefly levelled at the rich. Hence it was, that though the city did observe Solon's laws, yet all expected some change, and were desirous of another establishment ; not in hopes of an equality, but with a view to be gainers by the alteration, and entirely to subdue those that differed from them.

While matters stood thus, Solon arrived at Athens, where he was received with great respect, and still held in veneration by all ; but by reason of his great age he had neither the strength nor spirit to act or speak in public as he had done. He therefore applied in private to the heads of the factions, and endeavoured to appease and reconcile them. Pisistratus seemed to give him greater attention than the rest ; for Pisistratus had an affable and engaging manner. He was a liberal benefactor to the

* These three parties into which the Athenians were divided, viz. the Pediæi, the Parali, and Diacrii, have been mentioned in this life before.

poor ;* and even to his enemies he behaved with great candour. He counterfeited so dexterously the good qualities which nature had denied him, that he gained more credit than the real possessors of them, and stood foremost in the public esteem in point of moderation and equity, in zeal for the present government, and aversion to all that endeavoured at a change. With these arts he imposed upon the people ; but Solon soon discovered his real character, and was the first to discern his insidious designs. Yet he did not absolutely break with him, but endeavoured to soften him and advise him better ; declaring both to him and others, that if ambition could but be banished from his soul, and he could be cured of his desire of absolute power, there would not be a man better disposed, or a more worthy citizen in Athens.

About this time, Thespis began to change the form of tragedy, and the novelty of the thing attracted many spectators ; for this was before any prize was proposed for those that excelled in this respect. Solon, who was always willing to hear and to learn, and in his old age more inclined to any thing that might divert and entertain, particularly to music and good fellowship, went to see Thespis himself exhibit, as the custom of the ancient poets was. When the play was done, he called to Thespis, and asked him, *If he was not ashamed to tell so many lies before so great an assembly ?* Thespis answered, *It was no great matter, if he spoke or acted so in jest.* To which Solon replied, striking the ground violently with his staff, *If we encourage such jesting as this, we shall quickly find it in our contracts and agreements.*

Soon after this, Pisistratus having wounded himself for the purpose, drove in that condition into the market-place, and endeavoured to inflame the minds of the people, by telling them, his enemies had laid in wait for him, and treated him in that manner on account of his patriotism. Upon this the multitude loudly expressed their indignation : but Solon came up, and thus accosted him,

* By the poor we are not to understand such as asked alms, for there were none such at Athens. "In those days," says Isocrates, "there was no citizen that died of want, or begged in the streets, to the dishonour of the community." This was owing to the laws against idleness and prodigality, and the care which the *areopagus* took that every man should have a visible livelihood.

Son of Hippocrates, you act Homer's Ulysses but very indifferently; for he wounded himself to deceive his enemies, but you have done it to impose upon your countrymen. Notwithstanding this, the rabble were ready to take up arms for him: and a general assembly of the people being summoned, Ariston made a motion, that a body-guard of fifty clubmen should be assigned him. Solon stood up and opposed it with many arguments, of the same kind with those he has left us in his poems:

> You hang with rapture on his honey'd tongue.

And again,

> Your art, to public interest ever blind,
> Your fox-like art still centres in yourself.

But when he saw the poor behave in a riotous manner, and determined to gratify Pisistratus at any rate, while the rich out of fear declined the opposition, he retired with this declaration; that he had shown more wisdom than the former, in discerning what method should have been taken; and more courage than the latter, who did not want understanding, but spirit to oppose the establishment of a tyrant. The people having made the decree, did not curiously inquire into the number of guards which Pisistratus employed, but visibly connived at his keeping as many as he pleased, till he seized the citadel. When this was done, and the city in great confusion, Megacles, with the rest of the Alcmæonidæ, immediately took to flight. But Solon, though he was now very old, and had none to second him, appeared in public, and addressed himself to the citizens, sometimes upbraiding them with their past indiscretion and cowardice, sometimes exhorting and encouraging them to stand up for their liberty. Then it was that he spoke those memorable words, *It would have been easier for them to repress the advances of tyranny, and prevent its establishment; but now it was established and grown to some height, it would be more glorious to demolish it.* However finding, that their fears prevented their attention to what he said, he returned to his own house, and placed his weapons at the street door, with these words, *I have done all in my power to defend my country and its laws.* This was his last public effort. Though some exhorted him to fly, he took no notice of their advice, but was composed enough to make verses, in which he thus reproaches the Athenians,

If fear or folly has your rights betray'd,
Let not the fault on righteous heav'n be laid.
You gave them guards; you rais'd your tyrants high,
T' impose the heavy yoke that draws the heaving sigh.

Many of his friends, alarmed at this, told him the tyrant would certainly put him to death for it, and asked him, what he trusted to, that he went such imprudent lengths: he answered, *To old age*. However, when Pisistratus had fully established himself, he made his court to Solon, and treated him with so much kindness and respect, that Solon became as it were, his counsellor, and gave sanction to many of his proceedings. He observed the greatest part of Solon's laws, showing himself the example, and obliging his friends to follow it. Thus when he was accused of murder before the court of *areopagus*, he appeared in a modest manner to make his defence; but his accuser dropped the impeachment. He likewise added other laws, one of which was, that *persons maimed in the wars should be maintained at the public charge*. Yet this, Heraclides tells us, was in pursuance of Solon's plan, who had decreed the same in the case of Thersippus. But according to Theophrastus, Pisistratus, not Solon, made the law against idleness, which produced at once greater industry in the country and tranquility in the city.

Solon, moreover, attempted in verse a large description, or rather fabulous account of the Atlantic Island,* which he had learned of the wise men of Sais, and which particularly concerned the Athenians; but by reason of his age, not want of leisure (as Plato would have it) he was apprehensive the work would be too much for him, and therefore did not go through with it. These verses are a proof that business was not the hindrance:

I grow in learning as I grow in years.

And again,

Wine, wit, and beauty still their charms bestow,
Light all the shades of life, and cheer us as we go.

Plato, ambitious to cultivate and adorn the subject of the Atlantic Island, as a delightful spot in some fair field un-

* This fable imported, that the people of Atlantis having subdued all Libya, and a great part of Europe, threatened Egypt and Greece; but the Athenians making head against their victorious army, overthrew them in several engagements, and confined them to their own island.

occupied, to which also he had some claim by his being related to Solon,* laid out magnificent courts and enclosures, and erected a grand entrance to it, such as no other story, fable, or poem ever had. But as he began it late, he ended his life before the work; so that the more the reader is delighted with the part that is written, the more regret he has to find it unfinished. As the temple of Jupiter Olympius in Athens is the only one that has not the last hand put to it, so the wisdom of Plato, amongst his many excellent works has left nothing imperfect but the Atlantic Island.

Heraclides Ponticus relates that Solon lived a considerable time after Pisistratus usurped the government; but according to Phanias the Ephesian, not quite two years. For Pisistratus began his tyranny in the archonship of Comias, and Phanias tells us, Solon died in the archonship of Hegestratus, the immediate successor to Comias. The story of his ashes † being scattered about the isle of Salamis, appears absurd and fabulous: and yet it is related by several authors of credit, and by Aristotle in particular.

PUBLICOLA.

SUCH is the character of Solon; and therefore with him we will compare Publicola, so called by the Roman people, in acknowledgement of his merit; for his paternal name was Valerius. He was descended from that ancient Valerius,‡ who was the principal author of the union between the Romans and the Sabines. For he it was that most effectually persuaded the two kings to come to a conference, and to settle their differences. From this

* Plato's mother was a descendant of the brother of Solon.

† It is said by Diogenes Laertius, that this was done by his own order. In thus disposing of his remains, either Solon himself, or those who wrote his history, imitated the story of Lycurgus, who left an express order that his ashes should be thrown into the sea.

‡ The first of his family, who settled at Rome, was Valerius Volesus, a Sabine; or, as Festus and the *fasti Capitolini* call him Velusus.

man our Valerius deriving his extraction, distinguished himself by his eloquence and riches,* even while Rome was yet under kingly government. His eloquence he employed with great propriety and spirit in defence of justice, and his riches in relieving the necessitous. Hence it was natural to conclude, that if the government should become republican,† his station in it would soon be one of the most eminent.

When Tarquin *the proud*, who had made his way to the throne, by the violation of all rights,‡ divine and human, and then exercised his power as he acquired it, when, like an oppressor and a tyrant, he became odious and insupportable to the people ; they took occasion to revolt, from the unhappy fate of Lucretia, who killed herself on account of the rape committed upon her by the son of Tarquin.|| Lucius Brutus, meditating a change of government, applied to Valerius first, and with his powerful assistance expelled the king and his family. Indeed, while

* Plutarch by this would insinuate, that arbitrary power is no friend to eloquence. And undoubtedly the want of liberty does depress the spirit, and restrain the force of genius : whereas, in republics and limited monarchies, full scope is given, as well as many occasions afforded to the richest vein of oratory.

† Governments, as well as other things, pushed to excessive lengths, often change to the contrary extreme.

‡ He made use of the body of his father-in-law, Servius Tullius, whom he had murdered, as a step to the throne.

|| Livy tells us, that she desired her father and husband to meet her at her own house. With her father Lucretius came Publius Valerius, afterwards Publicola, and with her husband Lucius Junius Brutus, and many other Romans of distinction. To them she disclosed in few words the whole matter, declared her firm resolution not to outlive the loss of her honour, and conjured them not to let the crime of Sextus Tarquinius go unpunished. Then the heroine, notwithstanding their endeavours, to dissuade her from it, plunged a dagger in her breast. While the rest were filled with grief and consternation, Brutus, who, till that time, had feigned himself an idiot, to prevent his being obnoxious to the tyrant, took the bloody poniard, and shewing it to the assembly, said, "I swear by this blood, which once was so pure, and which nothing but the detestable villainy of Tarquin could have polluted, that I will pursue L. Tarquinius the proud, his wicked wife, and their children, with fire and sword ; nor will ever suffer any of that family, or any other whatsoever, to reign at Rome. Ye gods ! I call you to witness this my oath." At these words he presented the dagger to Collatinus, Lucretius, Valerius, and the rest of the company ; and engaged them to take the same oath.

the people seemed inclined to give one person the chief command, and to set up a general instead of a king, Valerius acquiesced, and willingly yielded the first place to Brutus, under whose auspices the republic commenced. But when it appeared that they could not bear the thought of being governed by a single person, when they seemed more ready to obey a divided authority, and indeed proposed and demanded to have two consuls at the head of the state, then he offered himself a candidate for that high office, together with Brutus, but lost his election. For, contrary to Brutus's desire, Tarquinius Collatinus, the husband of Lucretia, was appointed his colleague. Not that he was a more worthy or able man than Valerius; but those that had the chief interest in the state, apprehensive of the return of the Tarquins, who made great efforts without and endeavoured to soften the resentment of the citizens within, were desirous to be commanded by the most implacable enemy of that house.

Valerius, taking it ill that it should be supposed he would not do his utmost for his country, because he had received no particular injury from the tyrants, withdrew from the senate, forbore to attend the *forum*, and would not intermeddle in the least with public affairs. So that many began to express their fear and concern, lest through resentment he should join the late royal family, and overturn the commonwealth, which, as yet, was but tottering. Brutus was not without his suspicions of some others, and therefore determined to bring the senators to their oath on a solemn day of sacrifice, which he appointed for that purpose. On this occasion Valerius went with great alacrity into the *forum*, and was the first to make oath that he would never give up the least point, or hearken to any terms of agreement with Tarquin, but would defend the Roman liberty with his sword; which afforded great satisfaction to the senate, and strengthened the hands of the consuls.* His actions soon confirmed the sincerity

* Thus ended the regal state of Rome, 242 years, according to the common computation, after the building of the city. But Sir Isaac Newton justly observes, that this can scarce be reconciled to the course of nature, for we meet with no instance in all history, since chronology was certain, wherein seven kings, most of whom were slain, reigned so long a time in continual succession. By contracting, therefore, the reigns of these kings, and those of the kings of Alba, he places the building of Rome, not in the seventh, but in the 38th Olympiad.

of his oath. For ambassadors came from Tarquin with letters calculated to gain the people, and instructions to treat with them in such a manner as might be most likely to corrupt them! as they were to tell them from the king, that he had bid adieu to his high notions, and was willing to listen to very moderate conditions. Though the consuls were of opinion, that they should be admitted to confer with the people, Valerius would not suffer it, but opposed it strongly, insisting that no pretext for innovation should be given the needy multitude, who might consider war as a greater grievance than tyranny itself.

After this ambassadors came, to declare that he would give up all thoughts of the kingdom, and lay down his arms, if they would but send him his treasures and other effects, that his family and friends might not want a subsistence in their exile. Many persons inclined to indulge him in this, and Collatinus in particular agreed to it; but Brutus,* a man of great spirit and quick resentment, ran into the *forum*, and called his colleague a traitor, for being disposed to grant the enemy the means to carry on the war, and recover the crown, when indeed it would be too much to grant them bread in the place where they might retire to. The citizens being assembled on that occasion, Caius Minutius, a private man, was the first who delivered his sentiments to them, advising Brutus, and exhorting the Romans, to take care that the treasures should fight for them against the tyrants, rather than for the tyrants against *them*. The Romans, however, were of opinion, that while they obtained that liberty for which they began the war, they should not reject the offered peace for the sake of the treasures, but cast them out together with the tyrants.

In the mean time Tarquinius made but small account of his effects; but the demand of them furnished a pretence for sounding the people, and for preparing a scene of treachery. This was carried on by the ambassadors under pretence of taking care of the effects, part of which they said they were to sell, part to collect, and the rest to

* Dionysius of Halicarnassus, on the contrary, says, the affair was debated in the senate with great moderation; and when it could not be settled there, whether they should prefer honour or profit, it was referred to people, who, to their immortal praise, carried it, by a majority of one vote, for honour.

send away. Thus they gained time to corrupt two of the best families in Rome, that of the Aquilii, in which were three senators, and the Vitellii, among whom were two. All these, by the mother's side, were nephews to Collatinus the consul. The Vitellii were likewise allied to Brutus; for their sister was his wife, and he had several children by her;* two of whom, just arrived at years of maturity, and being of their kindred and acquaintance, the Vitellii drew in, and persuaded to engage in the conspiracy; insinuating, that by this means, they might marry into the family, of the Tarquins, share in their royal prospects, and, at the same time, be set free from the yoke of a stupid and cruel father. For, his inflexibility in punishing criminals, they called cruelty; and the stupidity, which he had used a long time as a cloak to shelter him from the bloody designs of the tyrants, had procured him the name of *Brutus*,† which he refused not to be known by afterwards.

The youths thus engaged, were brought to confer with the Aquilii; and all agreed to take a great and horrible oath, by drinking together of the blood,‡ and tasting‖ the entrails of a man sacrificed for that purpose. This ceremony was performed in the house of the Aquilii; and the room chosen for it (as it was natural to suppose) was dark and retired. But a slave, named Vindicius, lurked there undiscovered. Not that he had placed himself in that room by design; nor had he any suspicion of what was going to be transacted; but happening to be there, and perceiving with what haste and concern they entered, he stopped short for fear of being seen, and hid himself behind a chest; yet so that he could see what was done, and hear what was resolved upon. They came to a resolution to kill the consuls; and having wrote letters to signify as much to Tarquin, they gave them to the am-

* Dionysius and Livy make mention of no more than two; but Plutarch agrees with those who say that Brutus had more, and that Marcus Brutus, who killed Cæsar, was descended from one of them. Cicero is among those that hold the latter opinion; or else he pretended to be so, to make the cause and person of Brutus more popular.

† Tarquin had put the father and brother of Brutus to death.

‡ They thought such a horrid sacrifice would oblige every member of the conspiracy to inviolable secrecy. Cataline put the same in practice afterwards.

‖ The word Γεύειν, signifies *to taste*, as well as *to touch*.

bassadors, who then were guests to the Aquilii, and present at the conspiracy.

When the affair was over they withdrew, and Vindicius, stealing from his lurking-hole, was not determined what to do, but disturbed with doubts. He thought it shocking, as indeed it was, to accuse the sons of the most horrid crimes to their father Brutus, or the nephews, to their uncle Collatinus, and it did not presently occur to him that any private Roman was fit to be trusted with so important a secret. On the other hand, he was so much tormented with the knowledge of such an abominable treason, that he could do any thing rather than conceal it. At length, induced by the public spirit and humanity of Valerius, he bethought himself of applying to him, a man easy of access, and willing to be consulted by the necessitous, whose house was always open, and who never refused to hear the petitions even of the meanest of the people.

Accordingly Vindicius coming, and discovering to him the whole, in the presence of his brother Marcus and his wife; Valerius astonished and terrified at the plot, would not let the man go, but shut him up in the room, and left his wife to watch the door. Then he ordered his brother to surround the late king's palace, to seize the letters, if possible, and to secure the servants; while himself, with many clients and friends whom he always had about him, and a numerous retinue of servants, went to the house of the Aquilii. As they were gone out, and no one expected him, he forced open the doors, and found the letters in the ambassador's room. While he was thus employed, the Aquilii ran home in great haste, and engaged with him at the door, endeavouring to force the letters from him. But Valerius and his party repelled their attack, and twisting their gowns about their necks, after much struggling on both sides, dragged them with great difficulty through the streets into the *forum*. Marcus Valerius had the same success at the royal palace, where he seized other letters ready to be conveyed away among the goods, laid hands on what servants of the king's he could find, and had them also into the *forum*.

When the consuls had put a stop to the tumult, Vindicius was produced by order of Valerius; and the accusation being lodged, the letters were read, which the

traitors had not the assurance to contradict. A melancholy stillness reigned among the rest; but a few, willing to favour Brutus, mentioned banishment. The tears of Collatinus, and the silence of Valerius, gave some hopes of mercy. But Brutus called upon each of his sons by name, and said, *You, Titus, and you, Valerius,* why do not you make your defence against the charge?* After they had been thus questioned three several times, and made no answer, he turned to the *lictors*, and said, *Yours is the part that remains.* The *lictors* immediately laid hold on the youths, stripped them of their garments, and, having tied their hands behind them, flogged them severely with their rods. And though others turned their eyes aside, unable to endure the spectacle, yet it is said that Brutus neither looked another way, nor suffered pity in the least to smooth his stern and angry countenance;† regarding his sons as they suffered with a threatening aspect, till they were extended on the ground, and their heads cut off with the ax. Then he departed, leaving the rest to his colleague. This was an action which it is not easy to praise or condemn with propriety. For either the excess of virtue raised his soul above the influence of the passions, or else the excess of resentment depressed it into insensibility. Neither the one nor the other was natural, or suitable to the human faculties, but was either divine or brutal. It is more equitable, however, that our judgment should give its sanction to the glory of this great man, than that our weakness should incline us to doubt of his virtue. For the Romans do not look upon it as so glorious a work, for Romulus to have built the city, as for Brutus to have founded and established the commonwealth.

After Brutus had left the tribunal, the thought of what was done involved the rest in astonishment, horror, and silence. But the easiness and forbearance of Collatinus gave fresh spirits to the Aquilii, they begged time to make their defence, and desired that their slave Vindicius

* The name of Brutus's second son was not Valerius, but Tiberius

† Livy gives a different account of Brutus's behaviour. *Quum inter omne tempus pater, vultusque et os ejus, spectaculo esset, eminente animo patrio inter publicæ poenæ ministerium* There could not be a more striking spectacle than the countenance of Brutus, for anguish sate mixed with dignity, and he could not conceal the father, though he supported the magistrate. Liv. lib ii. cap. 5.

might be restored to them, and not remain with their accusers. The consul was inclined to grant their request, and thereupon to dismiss the assembly; but Valerius would neither suffer the slave to be taken from among the crowd, nor the people to dismiss the traitors and withdraw. At last he seized the criminals himself, and called for Brutus, exclaiming that Collatinus acted most unworthily, in laying his colleague under the hard necessity of putting his own sons to death, and then inclining to gratify the women by releasing the betrayers and enemies of their country. Collatinus, upon this, losing all patience, commanded Vindicius to be taken away; the lictors made way through the crowd, seized the man, and came to blows with such as endeavoured to rescue him. The friends of Valerius stood upon their defence, and the people cried out for Brutus. Brutus returned; and silence being made, he said, *It was enough for him to give judgment upon his own sons; as for the rest, he left them to the sentence of the people, who were now free; and any one that chose it, might plead before them.* They did not, however, wait for pleadings, but immediately put it to the vote, with one voice condemned them to die; and the traitors were beheaded. Collatinus, it seems, was somewhat suspected before, on account of his near relation to the royal family;* and one of his names was obnoxious to the people, for they abhorred the very name of Tarquin. But on this occasion he had provoked them beyond expression; and therefore he voluntarily resigned the consulship, and retired from the city. A new election consequently was held, and Valerius declared consul with great honour, as a proper mark of gratitude for his patriotic zeal. As he was of opinion that Vindicius should have his share of the reward, he procured a decree of the people that the freedom of the city should be given him, which was never conferred on a slave before, and that he should be enrolled in what tribe he pleased, and give his suffrage with it. As for other freedmen, Appius, wanting to make himself popular, procured them a right of voting, long after. The act of enfranchising

* Lucius Tarquinius, the son of Egerius, and nephew of Tarquinius Priscus, was called Collatinus, from Collatia, of which he was governor. Tarquinius Superbus, and Egerius the father of Collatinus, were first cousins.

a slave is to this day called *Vindicta*, (we are told) from this Vindicius.

The next step that was taken, was to give up the goods of the Tarquins to be plundered; and their palace and other houses were levelled with the ground. The pleasantest part of the *Campus Martius* had been in their possession, and this was now consecrated to the god Mars.* It happened to be the time of harvest, and the sheaves then lay upon the ground; but as it was consecrated, they thought it not lawful to thrash the corn, or to make use of it; a great number of hands, therefore, took it up in baskets, and threw it into the river. The trees were also cut down and thrown in after it, and the ground left entirely without fruit or product, for the service of the god.† A great quantity of different sorts of things being thus thrown in together, they were not carried far by the current, but only to the shallows where the first heaps had stopped. Finding no farther passage, every thing settled there, and the whole was bound still faster by the river; for that washed down to it a deal of mud, which not only added to the mass, but served as a cement to it; and the current, far from dissolving it, by its gentle pressure gave it the greater firmness. The bulk and solidity of this mass received continual additions, most of what was brought down by the Tiber settling there. It is now an island sacred to religious uses;‡ several temples and porticos have been built upon it, and it is called in Latin, *Inter duos pontes*,‖ the island *between the two bridges*. Some say, however, that this did not happen at the dedication of Tarquin's field, but some ages after, when Tarquinia, a vestal, gave another adjacent field to the public; for which she was honoured with great privileges, particularly that of giving her testimony in court, which was refused to all other women; they likewise voted her liberty to marry, but she did not accept it....

* Plutarch should have said re-consecrated. For it was devoted to that god in the time of Romulus, as appears from his laws. But the Tarquins had sacrilegiously converted it to their own use.

† A field so kept, was very properly adapted to the service of the god of war, who lays waste all before him.

‡ Livy says it was secured against the force of the current by jettees.

‖ The Fabrician bridge joined it to the city on the side of the Capitol, and the Cestian bridge on the side of the Janiculine gate.

This is the account, though seemingly fabulous, which some give of the matter.

Tarquin, despairing to re-ascend the throne by stratagem, applied to the Tuscans, who gave him a kind reception, and prepared to conduct him back with a great armament. The consuls led the Roman forces against them, and the two armies were drawn up in certain consecrated parcels of ground, the one called the Arsian grove, the other the Æsuvian meadow. When they came to charge, Aruns, the son of Tarquin, and Brutus the Roman consul,* met each other, not by accident, but design; animated by hatred and resentment, the one against a tyrant and enemy of his country, the other to revenge his banishment, they spurred their horses to the encounter. As they engaged rather with fury than conduct, they laid themselves open, and fell by each other's hand. The battle, whose onset was so dreadful, had not a milder conclusion: the carnage was prodigious, and equal on both sides, till at length the armies were separated by a storm.

Valerius was in great perplexity, as he knew not which side had the victory, and found his men as much dismayed at the sight of their own dead, as animated by the loss of the enemy. So great, indeed, was the slaughter, that it could not be distinguished who had the advantage; and each army having a near view of their own loss, and only guessing at that of the enemy, were inclined to think themselves vanquished, rather than victorious. When night came on, (such a night as one might imagine after so bloody a day) and both camps were hushed in silence and repose, it is said that the grove shook, and a loud voice proceeding from it declared, that *the Tuscans had lost one man more than the Romans.* The voice was undoubtedly divine;† for immediately upon that the Romans recovered their spirits, and the field rung with acclamations; while the Tuscans, struck with fear and

* Brutus is deservedly reckoned among the most illustrious heroes. He restored liberty to his country, secured it with the blood of his own sons, and died in defending it against a tyrant. The Romans afterwards erected his statue in the Capitol, where he was placed in the midst of the kings of Rome, with a naked sword in his hand.

† It was said to be the voice of the god Pan.

confusion, deserted their camp, and most of them dispersed. As for those that remained, who were not quite five thousand, the Romans took them prisoners, and plundered the camp. When the dead were numbered, there were found on the side of the Tuscans eleven thousand three hundred, and on that of the Romans as many, excepting one. This battle is said to have been fought on the last of February. Valerius was honoured with a triumph, and was the first consul that made his entry in a chariot and four. The occasion rendered the spectacle glorious and venerable, not invidious, and (as some would have it) grievous to the Romans; for, if that had been the case, the custom would not have been so zealously kept up, nor would the ambition to obtain a triumph have lasted so many ages. The people were pleased, too, with the honours paid by Valerius to the remains of his colleague, his burying him with so much pomp, and pronouncing his funeral oration; which last the Romans so generally approved, or rather were so much charmed with, that afterwards all the great and illustrious men among them, upon their decease, had their encomium from persons of distinction.* This funeral oration was more ancient than any among the Greeks; unless we allow, what Anaximenes, the orator relates, that Solon was the author of this custom.

But that which offended and exasperated the people was this: Brutus, whom they considered as the father of liberty, would not rule alone, but took to himself a first and a second colleague; *yet this man* (said they) *grasps the whole authority, and is not the successor to the consulate of Brutus, to which he has no right, but to the tyranny of Tarquin. To what purpose is it in words to extol Brutus, and in deeds to imitate Tarquin, while he has all the rods and axes carried before him alone, and sets out from a house more stately than the royal palace which he demolished?* It is true, Valerius did live in a house too lofty and

* Funeral orations were not in use among the Greeks till the battle of Marathon, which was sixteen years after the death of Brutus. The heroes that fell so gloriously there, did, indeed, well deserve such eulogiums; and the Grecians never granted them but to those that were slain fighting for their country. In this respect the custom of the Romans was more equitable; for they honoured with those public marks of regard such as had served their country in any capacity.

superb, on the Velian eminence, which commanded the *forum* and every thing that passed; and as the avenues were difficult, and the ascent steep, when he came down from it his appearance was very pompous, and resembled the state of a king rather than that of a consul. But he soon shewed of what consequence it is for persons in high stations and authority to have their ears open to truth and good advice, rather than flattery. For when his friends informed him, that most people thought he was taking wrong steps, he made no dispute, nor expressed any resentment, but hastily assembled a number of workmen whilst it was yet night, who demolished his house entirely; so that when the Romans in the morning assembled to look upon it, they admired and adored his magnanimity; but, at the same time, were troubled to see so grand and magnificent an edifice ruined by the envy of the citizens, as they would have lamented the death of a great man who had fallen as suddenly, and by the same cause. It gave them pain, too, to see the consul, who had now no home, obliged to take shelter in another man's house. For Valerius was entertained by his friends, till the people provided a piece of ground for him, where a less stately house was built, in the place where the temple of *Victory* now stands.*

Desirous to make his high office, as well as himself, rather agreeable than formidable to the people, he ordered the axes to be taken away from the rods, and that, whenever he went to the great assembly, the rods should be avaled in respect to the citizens, as if the supreme power were lodged in *them*. A custom which the consuls observe to this day.† The people were not aware, that by this he did not lessen his own power, (as they imagined) but only by such an instance of moderation obviated and cut off all occasion of envy, and gained as much authority to his person, as he seemed to take from his office; for they all submitted to him with pleasure, and were so much charmed with his behaviour, that they gave him the name of *Publicola*, that is, the *People's respectful friend*. In

* Plutarch has it, *where the temple called* Vicus Publicus *now stands*. He had found in the historians *vicæ potæ*, which in old Latin signifies *victory*; but as he did not understand it, he substituted *Vicus Publicus*, which here would have no sense at all.

† The axes too were still borne before the consuls when they were in the field.

this both his former names were lost; and this we shall make use of in the sequel of his life.

Indeed, it was no more than his due; for he permitted all to sue for the consulship.* Yet, before a colleague was appointed him, as he knew not what might happen, and was apprehensive of some opposition from ignorance or envy, while he had the sole power he made use of it to establish some of the most useful and excellent regulations. In the first place, he filled up the senate, which then was very thin; several of that august body having been put to death by Tarquin before, and others fallen in the late battle. He is said to have made up the number a hundred and sixty-four. In the next place, he caused certain laws to be enacted, which greatly augmented the power of the people. The first gave liberty of appeal from the consuls to the people; the second made it death to enter upon the magistracy, without the people's consent; the third was greatly in favour of the poor, as, by exempting them from taxes,† it promoted their attention to manufactures. Even his law against disobedience to the consuls, was not less popular than the rest; and, in effect, it favoured the commonalty rather than the great; for the fine was only the value of five oxen and two sheep. The value of a sheep was ten *oboli*, of an ox a hundred;‡ the Romans as yet not making much use of money, because their wealth consisted in abundance of cattle. To this day they call their substance *peculia*, from *pecus*, cattle, their most ancient coins having the impression of an ox, a sheep, or a hog; and their sons being distinguished with the names of *Suilli*, *Bubulci*, *Caprarii*, and *Porcii* derived from the names of such animals.

Though these laws of Publicola were popular and equitable; yet, amidst this moderation, the punishment he appointed, in one case, was severe. For he made it lawful, without a form of trial, to kill any man that should at-

* If Publicola gave the plebeians, as well as the patricians, a right to the consulate, that right did not then take place. For Lucius Sextius was the first plebeian who arrived at that honour, many ages after the time of which Plutarch speaks; and this continued but eleven years; for in the twelfth, which was the four hundredth year of Rome, both the consuls were again patricians. Liv. b. vii. cap. 18.

† He exempted artificers, widows, and old men, who had no children to relieve them, from paying tribute.

‡ Before, the fine was such as the commonalty could not pay without absolute ruin.

tempt to set himself up for king; and the person that took away his life, was to stand excused, if he could make proof of the intended crime. His reason for such a law, we presume, was this: though it is not possible that he who undertakes so great an enterprise, should escape all notice; yet it is very probable that, though suspected, he may accomplish his designs before he can be brought to answer for it in a judicial way; and as the crime, if committed, would prevent his being called to account for it, this law impowered any one to punish him before such cognizance was taken.

His law concerning the treasury, did him honour. It was necessary that money should be raised for the war from the estates of the citizens, but he determined that neither himself nor any of his friends should have the disposal of it; nor would he suffer it to be lodged in any private house....He, therefore, appointed the temple of Saturn to be the treasury, which they still make use of for that purpose, and impowered the people to choose two young men as *quæstors*, or *treasurers*.* The first were Publius Veturius and Marcus Minutius; and a large sum was collected; for a hundred and thirty thousand persons were taxed, though the orphans and widows stood excused.

These matters thus regulated, he procured Lucretius, the father of the injured Lucretia, to be appointed his colleague. To him he gave the *fasces* (as they are called) together with the precedency, as the older man; and this mark of respect to age has ever since continued. As Lucretius died a few days after, another election was held, and Marcus Horatius † appointed in his room for the remaining part of the year.

About that time, Tarquin making preparations for a second war against the Romans, a great prodigy is said to have happened. This prince, while yet upon the throne,

* The office of the quæstors was to take care of the public treasure, for which they were accountable when their year was out; to furnish the necessary sums for the service of the public; and to receive ambassadors, attend them, and provide them with lodgings and other necessaries. A general could not obtain the honours of a triumph, till he had given them a faithful account of the spoils he had taken, and sworn to it. There were at first two quæstors only, but when the Roman empire was considerably enlarged, their number was increased. The office of quæstor, though often discharged by persons who had been consuls, was the first step to great employments.

† Horatius Pulvillus.

had almost finished the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, when either by the direction of an oracle,* or upon some fancy of his own, he ordered the artists of Veii to make an earthen chariot, which was to be placed on the top of it. Soon after this he forfeited the crown. The Tuscans, however, moulded the chariot, and set it in the furnace; but the case was very different with it from that of other clay in the fire, which condenses and contracts upon the exhalation of the moisture, whereas it enlarged itself and swelled, till it grew to such a size and hardness, that it was with difficulty they got it out, even after the furnace was dismantled. The soothsayers being of opinion, that this chariot betokened power and success to the persons with whom it should remain, the people of Veii determined not to give it up to the Romans; but, upon their demanding it, returned this answer, That it belonged to Tarquin, not to those that had driven him from his kingdom. It happened that a few days after, there was a chariot-race at Veii, which was observed as usual; except that, as the charioteer, who had won the prize and received the crown, was gently driving out of the ring, the horses took fright from no visible cause; but, either by some direction of the gods, or turn of fortune, ran away with their driver, at full speed, towards Rome. It was in vain that he pulled the reins, or soothed them with words, he was obliged to give way to the career, and was whirled along, till they came to the Capitol, where they flung him, at the gate now called *Ratumena*. The Veientes, surprised and terrified at this incident, ordered the artists to deliver up the chariot.†

Tarquin, the son of Demoratus, in his wars with the Sabines, made a vow to build a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus; which was performed by Tarquin *the proud*, son or grandson to the former. He did not, however, consecrate it, for it was not quite finished, when he was expelled from Rome.‡ When the last hand was put to it, and it

* It was an usual thing to place chariots on the tops of temples.

† A miracle of this kind, and not less extraordinary, is said to have happened in modern Rome. When poor St. Michael's church was in a ruinous condition, the horses that were employed in drawing stones through the city, unanimously agreed to carry their loads to St. Michael.

‡ This temple was 200 feet long, and 185 and upwards broad. The front was adorned with three rows of columns, and the sides with two. In the nave were three shrines, one of Jupiter, another of Juno, and the third of Minerva.

had received every suitable ornament, Publicola was ambitious of the honour of dedicating it. This excited the envy of some of the nobility, who could better brook his other honours; to which, indeed, in his legislative and military capacities, he had a better claim; but, as he had no concern in this, they did not think proper to grant it him, but encouraged and importuned Horatius to apply for it. In the mean time, Publicola's command of the army necessarily required his absence, and his adversaries taking the opportunity to procure an order from the people, that Horatius should dedicate the temple, conducted him to the Capitol. A point which they could not have gained had Publicola been present. Yet some say, the consuls having cast lots for it,* the dedication fell to Horatius, and the expedition, against his inclination, to Publicola. But we may easily conjecture how they stood disposed, by the proceedings on the day of dedication. This was the thirteenth of September, which is about the full moon of the month *Melagitnion*, when prodigious numbers of all ranks being assembled, and silence enjoined, Horatius, after the other ceremonies, took hold of one of the gate-posts, (as the custom is) and was going to pronounce the prayer of consecration. But Marcus, the brother of Publicola, who had stood for some time by the gates watching his opportunity, cried out, *Consul, your son lies dead in the camp.* This gave great pain to all that heard it; but the consul not in the least disconcerted, made answer, *Then cast out the dead where you please, I admit of no mourning on this occasion;* and so proceeded to finish the dedication. The news was not true, but an invention of Marcus, who hoped by that means to hinder Horatius from completing what he was about. But his presence of mind is equally admirable, whether he immediately perceived the falsity, or believed the account to be true, without shewing any emotion.

The same fortune attended the dedication of the second temple. The first, built by Tarquin, and dedicated by Horatius, as we have related, was afterwards destroyed by fire in the civil wars.† Sylla rebuilt it, but did not live to

* Livy says positively, *they cast lots for it.* Plutarch seems to have taken the sequel of the story from him. Liv. lib. ii c. 8.

† After the first temple was destroyed in the wars between Sylla and Marius, Sylla rebuilt it with columns of marble, which he had

consecrate it; so the dedication of this second temple fell to Catulus. It was again destroyed in the troubles which happened in the time of Vitellius; and a third was built by Vespasian, who, with his usual good fortune, put the last hand to it, but did not see it demolished, as it was soon after: happier in this respect than Sylla, who died before his was dedicated, Vespasian died before his was destroyed. For immediately after his decease, the Capitol was burnt. The fourth, which now stands, was built and dedicated by Domitian. Tarquin is said to have expended thirty thousand pounds weight of silver upon the foundations only; but the greatest wealth any private man is supposed to be now possessed of in Rome, would not answer the expence of the gilding of the present temple, which amounted to more than twelve thousand talents.* The pillars are of Pentelic marble, and the thickness was in excellent proportion to their length, when we saw them at Athens; but when they were cut and polished anew at Rome, they gained not so much in the polish, as they lost in the proportion; for their beauty is injured by their appearing too slender for their height. But after admiring the magnificence of the Capitol, if any one was to go and see a gallery, a hall, or bath, or the apartments of the women, in Domitian's palace, what is said by Epicharmus of a prodigal,

> Your lavish'd stores speak not the liberal mind,
> But the disease of giving;

he might apply to Domitian in some such manner as this: *Neither piety nor magnificence appears in your ex-*

taken out of the temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens, and transported to Rome. But (as Plutarch observes) he did not live to consecrate it; and he was heard to say, as he was dying, that his leaving that temple to be dedicated by another, was the only unfortunate circumstance of his life.

* 194,350*l* sterling. In this we may see the great distance between the wealth of private citizens in a free country, and that of the subjects of an arbitrary monarch. In Trajan's time there was not a private man in Rome worth 200,000*l*.; whereas under the commonwealth, Æmilius Scaurus, in his ædileship, erected a temporary theatre which cost above 500,000*l*.; Marcus Crassus had an estate in land of above a million a-year; L. Cornelius Balbus left by will, to every Roman citizen, twenty-five *denarii*, which amounts to about sixteen shillings of our money; and many private men among the Romans maintained from ten to twenty thousand slaves;

fience ; you have the disease of building ; like Midas of old, you would turn every thing to gold and marble. So much for this subject.

Let us now return to Tarquin. After that great battle in which he lost his son, who was killed in single combat by Brutus, he fled to Clusium, and begged assistance of Laras Porsena, then the most powerful prince in Italy, and a man of great worth and honour. Porsena promised him succours ;* and, in the first place, sent to the Romans, commanding them to receive Tarquin. Upon their refusal, he declared war against them ; and having informed them of the time when, and the place, where he would make his assault, he marched thither accordingly with a great army. Publicola, who was then absent, was chosen consul the second time,† and with him Titus Lucretius. Returning to Rome, and desirous to outdo Porsena in spirit,‡ he built the town of Sigliuria, notwithstanding the enemy's approach ; and when he had finished the walls at a great expence, he placed in it a colony of seven hundred men, as if he held his adversary very cheap. Porsena, however, assaulted it in a spirited manner, drove out the garrison, and pursued the fugitives so close, that he was near entering Rome along with them. But Publicola met him without the gates, and joining battle by the river, sustained the enemy's attack, who pressed on with numbers, till at last sinking under the wounds he had gallantly received, he was carried out of the battle. Lucretius, his colleague, having the same fate, the courage of the Romans drooped, and they retreated into the city for security. The enemy making good the pursuit to the wooden-bridge, Rome was in

not so much for service as ostentation. No wonder then that the slaves once took up arms, and went to war with the Roman commonwealth.

* Besides that Porsena was willing to assist a distressed king, he considered the Tarquins as his countrymen, for they were of Tuscan extraction.

† It was when Publicola was consul the third time, and had for colleague Horatius Pulvillus, that Porsena marched against Rome.

‡ Sigliuria was not built at this time, nor out of ostentation, as Plutarch says ; for it was built as a barrier against the Latins and the Hernici, and not in the third, but in the second consulship of Publicola.

great danger of being taken; when Horatius Cocles,* and with him two others of the first rank, Herminius and Spurius Lartius,† stopped them at the bridge. Horatius had the surname of *Cocles* from his having lost an eye, in the wars: or, as some will have it, from the form of his nose, which was so very flat, that both his eyes, as well as eye-brows, seemed to be joined together; so that when the vulgar intended to call him *Cyclops*, by a misnomer, they called him *Cocles*, which name remained with him. This man standing at the head of the bridge, defended it against the enemy, till the Romans broke it down behind him. Then he plunged into the Tyber, armed as he was, and swam to the other side, but was wounded in the hip with a Tuscan spear. Publicola, struck with admiration of his valour, immediately procured a decree, that every Roman should give him one day's provision;‡ and that he should have as much land as he himself could encircle with a plough in one day. Besides, they erected his statue in brass in the temple of Vulcan, with a view to console him by this honour for his wound, and lameness consequent upon it.||

While Porsena laid close siege to the city, the Romans were attacked with famine, and another body of Tuscans laid waste the country. Publicola, who was now consul the third time, was of opinion that no operations could be carried on against Porsena but defensive ones. He marched out,§ however, privately against those Tuscans who had committed such ravages, defeated them, and killed five thousand.

The story of **Mucius has been the subject of many pens, and is variously related: I shall give that account

* He was son to a brother of Horatius the consul, and a descendant of that Horatius who remained victorious in the great combat between the Horatii and Curiatii in the reign of Tullus Hostilius.

† In the Greek text it is Lucretius, which we suppose is a corruption of Lartius, the name we find in Livy.

‡ Probably he had three hundred thousand contributors, for even the women readily gave in their quota.

|| This defect, and his having but one eye, prevented his ever being consul.

§ The consuls spread a report, which was soon carried into the Tuscan camp by the slaves who deserted, that the next day all the cattle brought thither from the country, would be sent to graze in the fields under a guard. This bait drew the enemy into an ambush.

** Mucius Cordus.

of it, which seems most credible. Mucius was in all respects a man of merit, but particularly distinguished by his valour. Having secretly formed a scheme to take off Porsena, he made his way into his camp in a Tuscan dress, where he likewise took care to speak the Tuscan language. In this disguise he approached the seat where the king sat with his nobles; and as he did not certainly know Porsena, and thought it improper to ask, he drew his sword and killed the person that seemed most likely to be the king. Upon this he was seized and examined. Mean time, as there happened to be a portable altar there, with fire upon it, where the king was about to offer sacrifice, Mucius thrust his right hand into it;* and as the flesh was burning, he kept looking upon Porsena with a firm and menacing aspect, till the king, astonished at his fortitude, returned him his sword with his own hand. He received it with his left-hand, from whence we are told he had the surname of *Scævola*, which signifies *left-handed;* and thus addressed himself to Porsena, "Your threatenings I regarded not, but am conquered by your generosity, and out of gratitude, will declare to you what no force should have wrested from me.... There are three hundred Romans that have taken the same resolution with mine, who now walk about your camp, watching their opportunity. It was my lot to make the first attempt, and I am not sorry that my sword was directed by fortune against another, instead of a man of so much honour, who, as such, should rather be a friend, than an enemy to the Romans." Porsena believed this account, and was more inclined to hearken to terms, not so much, in my opinion, through fear of the three hundred assassins, as admiration of the dignity of the Roman valour. All authors call this man Mucius Scævola,† except Athenodorus Sandon, who, in a work addressed to Octavia, sister to Augustus, says he was named Posthumius.

Publicola, who did not look upon Porsena as so bitter an enemy to Rome, but that he deserved to be taken into

* Livy says, that Porsena threatened Mucius with the torture by fire, to make him discover his accomplices; whereupon Mucius thrust his hand into the flame, to let him see that he was not to be intimidated.

† Mucius was rewarded with a large piece of ground belonging to the public.

its friendship and alliance, was so far from refusing to refer the dispute with Tarquin to his decision, that he was really desirous of it, and several times offered to prove that Tarquin was the worst of men, and justly deprived of the crown. When Tarquin roughly answered, that he would admit of no arbitrator, much less of Porsena, if he changed his mind and forsook his alliance. Porsena was offended, and began to entertain an ill opinion of him; being likewise solicited to it by his son Aruns, who used all his interest for the Romans, he was prevailed upon to put an end to the war, on condition that they gave up that part of Tuscany which they had conquered,* together with the prisoners, and received their deserters. For the performance of these conditions they gave as hostages ten young men and as many virgins, of the best families in Rome; among whom was Valeria the daughter of Publicola.

Upon the faith of this treaty, Porsena had ceased from all acts of hostility, when the Roman virgins went down to bathe, at a place where the bank forming itself in a crescent, embraces the river in such a manner, that there it is quite calm and undisturbed with waves. As no guard was near, and they saw none passing or repassing, they had a violent inclination to swim over, notwithstanding the depth and strength of the stream. Some say one of them, named Cœlia, passed it on horseback, and encouraged the other virgins as they swam. When they came safe to Publicola, he neither commended nor approved their exploit, but was grieved to think he should appear unequal to Porsena in point of honour, and that this daring enterprizeof the virgins should make the Romans suspected of unfair proceeding. He took them, therefore, and sent them back to Porsena. Tarquin having timely intelligence of this, laid an ambuscade for them, and attacked their convoy. They defended themselves, though greatly inferior in number; and Valeria, the daughter of Publicola, broke through them as they were engaged, with three servants, who conducted her safe to Porsena's camp. As the skirmish was not yet decided, nor the danger over, Aruns, the son of Porsena,

* The Romans were required to reinstate the Veientes in the possession of seven villages, which they had taken from them in former wars.

being informed of it, marched up with all speed, put the enemy to flight, and rescued the Romans. When Porsena saw the virgins returned, he demanded which of them was she that proposed the design, and set the example. When he understood that Clœlia was the person, he treated her with great politeness, and commanding one of his own horses to be brought with very elegant trappings, he made her a present of it. Those that say, Clœlia was the only one that passed the river on horseback, allege this as a proof. Others say no such consequence can be drawn from it, and that it was nothing more than a mark of honour to her from the Tuscan king, for her bravery. An equestrian statue of her stands in the *Via sacra*,* where it leads to mount *Palatine ;* yet some will have even this to be Valeria's statue, not Clœlia's.

Porsena, thus reconciled to the Romans, gave many proofs of his greatness of mind. Among the rest he ordered the Tuscans to carry off nothing but their arms, and to leave their camp full of provisions and many other things of value, for the Romans, Hence it is, that even in our times, whenever there is a sale of goods belonging to the public, they are cried first as the goods of Porsena, to eternize the memory of his generosity. A brazen statue, of rude and antique workmanship, was also erected to his honour, near the senate-house.†

After this, the Sabines invading the Roman territory, Marcus Valerius, brother to Publicola, and Posthumius Tubertus, were elected consuls. As every important action was still conducted by the advice and assistance of Publicola, Marcus gained two great battles ; in the second of which he killed thirteen thousand of the enemy, without the loss of one Roman. For this he was not only rewarded with a triumph, but a house was built for him at the public expence, on mount Palatine. And whereas the doors of other houses at that time opened inwards, the street-door of that house was made to open outwards, to show by such an honourable distinction, that he was always ready to receive any proposal for the public ser-

* Dionysius Halicarnassus tells us in express terms, that in his time, that is, in the reign of Augustus, there were no remains of that statue, it having been consumed by fire.

† The senate likewise sent an embassy to him, with a present of a throne adorned with ivory, a sceptre, a crown of gold, and a triumphal robe.

vice.* All the doors in Greece, they tell us, were formerly made to open so, which they prove from those passages in the comedies, where it is mentioned, that those that went out knocked loud on the inside of the doors first, to give warning to such as passed by or stood before them, lest the doors in opening should dash against them.

The year following, Publicola was appointed consul the fourth time, because a confederacy between the Sabines and Latins threatened a war; and, at the same time, the city was oppressed with superstitious terrors, on account of the imperfect births, and general abortions among the women. Publicola, having consulted the Sibyl's books upon it,† offered sacrifice to Pluto, and renewed certain games that had formerly been instituted by the direction of the Delphic oracle. When he had revived the city with the pleasing hope that the gods were appeased, he prepared to arm against the menaces of men; for there appeared to be a formidable league and strong armament against him. Among the Sabines, Appius Clausus was a man of an opulent fortune, and remarkable personal strength; famed, moreover, for his virtues, and the force of his eloquence. What is the fate of all great men, to be persecuted by envy, was likewise his: and his opposing the war gave a handle to malignity to insinuate that he wanted to strengthen the Roman power, in order the more easily to enslave his own country. Perceiving that the

* Posthumius had his share in the triumph, as well as in the atchievements.

† An unknown woman is said to have come to Tarquin with nine volumes of oracles written by the *Sibyl* of Cuma, for which she demanded a very considerable price. Tarquin refusing to purchase them at her rate, she burnt three of them, and then asked the same price for the remaining six. Her proposal being rejected with scorn, she burnt three more, and, notwithstanding, still insisted on her first price. Tarquin, surprised at the novelty of the thing, put the books in the hands of the augurs to be examined, who advised him to purchase them at any rate: Accordingly he did, and appointed two persons of distinction, styled *Duumviri*, to be guardians of them, who locked them up in a vault under the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and there they were kept till they were burnt with the temple itself. These officers, whose number was afterwards increased, consulted the Sibylline books, by direction of the senate, when some dangerous sedition was likely to break out, when the Roman armies had been defeated, or when any of those prodigies appeared which were thought fatal. They also presided over the sacrifices and shows, which they appointed to appease the wrath of heaven.

populace gave a willing ear to these calumnies, and that he was become obnoxious to the abettors of the war, he was apprehensive of an impeachment; but being powerfully supported by his friends and relations, he bade his enemies defiance. This delayed the war, Publicola making it his business not only to get intelligence of this sedition, but also to encourage and inflame it, sent proper persons to Appius, to tell him, "That he was sensible he was a man of too much goodness and integrity, to avenge himself of his countrymen, though greatly injured by them; but if he chose, for his security, to come over to the Romans, and to get out of the way of his enemies, he should find such a reception, both in public and private, as was suitable to his virtue and the dignity of Rome." Appius considered this proposal with great attention, and the necessity of his affairs prevailed with him to accept it. He, therefore, persuaded his friends, and they influenced many others, so that five thousand men of the most peaceable disposition of any among the Sabines, with their families, removed with him to Rome. Publicola, who was prepared for it, received them in the most friendly and hospitable manner, admitted them to the freedom of the city, and gave them two acres of land a-piece, by the river Anio. To Appius he gave the twenty-five acres, and a seat in the senate. This laid the foundation of his greatness in the republic, and he used the advantage with so much prudence, as to rise to the first rank in power and authority. The Claudian family,* descended from him, is as illustrious as any in Rome.

Though the disputes among the Sabines were decided by this migration, the demagogues would not suffer them to rest; representing it as a matter of great disgrace, if Appius, now a deserter and an enemy, should be able to obstruct their taking vengeance of the Romans, when he could not prevent it by his presence. They advanced, therefore, with a great army, and encamped near Fidenæ. Having ordered two thousand men to lie in ambush in the

* There were two families of the *Claudii* in Rome; one patrician and the other plebeian. The first had the surname of *Pulcher*, and the other of *Marcellus*. In course of time the patrician family produced twenty-three consuls, five dictators, and seven censors, and obtained two triumphs and two ovations. The emperor Tiberius was descended of this family.

shrubby and hollow places before Rome, they appointed a few horse at day-break to ravage the country up to the very gates, and then to retreat, till they drew the enemy into the ambuscade. But Publicola getting information that very day of these particulars from deserters, prepared himself accordingly, and made a disposition of his forces. Posthumius Balbus his son-in-law, went out with three thousand men, as it began to grow dark, and having taken possession of the summits of the hills under which the Sabines had concealed themselves, watched his opportunity. His colleague Lucretius with the lightest and most active of the Romans, was appointed to attack the Sabine cavalry, as they were driving off the cattle, while himself, with the rest of the forces, took a large compass, and inclosed the enemy's rear. The morning happened to be very foggy, when Posthumius, at dawn, with loud shouts, fell upon the ambuscade from the heights, Lucretius charged the horse in their retreat, and Publicola attacked the enemy's camp. The Sabines were every where worsted and put to the rout. As the Romans met not with the least resistance, the slaughter was prodigious. It is clear that the vain confidence of the Sabines was the principal cause of their ruin. While one part thought the other was safe, they did not stand upon their defence ; those in the camp ran towards the corps that was placed in ambuscade, while they, in their turn, endeavoured to regain the camp. Thus they fell in with each other in great disorder, and in mutual want of that assistance which neither was able to give. The Sabines would have been entirely cut off, had not the city of Fidenæ been so near, which proved an asylum to some, particularly those that fled when the camp was taken. Such as did not take refuge there, were either destroyed or taken prisoners.

The Romans, though accustomed to ascribe every great event to the interposition of the gods, gave the credit of this victory solely to the general ; and the first thing the soldiers were heard to say, was, that Publicola had put the enemy in their hands, lame, blind, and almost bound, for the slaughter. The people were enriched with the plunder and the sale of prisoners. As for Publicola, he was honoured with a triumph ; and having surrendered the administration to the succeeding consuls, he died soon after ; thus finishing his life in circumstances esteemed

the happiest and most glorious that a man can attain to.* The people, as if they had done nothing to requite his merit in his life time, decreed that his funeral should be solemnized at the public charge; and to make it the more honourable, every one contributed a piece of money called *Quadrans*. Besides, the women, out of particular regard to his memory, continued the mourning for him a whole year. By an order of the citizens, his body was likewise interred within the city, near the place called *Velia*, and all his family were to have a burying place there. At present, indeed, none of his descendants are interred in that ground: they only carry the corpse and set it down there, when one of the attendants puts a lighted torch under it, which he immediately takes back again. Thus they claim by that act the right, but wave the privilege; for the body is taken away, and interred without the wall.

SOLON AND PUBLICOLA

COMPARED.

THERE is something singular in this parallel, and what has not occurred to us in any other of the lives we have written, that Publicola should exemplify the maxims of Solon, and that Solon should proclaim before-hand the happiness of Publicola. For the definition of happiness which Solon gave Crœsus, is more applicable to Publicola than to Tellus. It is true, he pronounces Tellus happy, on account of his virtue, his valuable children, and glorious death; yet he mentions him not in his poems as eminently distinguished by his virtue, his children, or his employments. For Publicola, in his life-time, attained the highest reputation and authority among the Romans, by means of his virtues; and, after his death, his family was reckon-

* He was the most virtuous citizen, one of the greatest generals, and the most popular consul Rome ever had. As he had taken more care to transmit his virtues to his posterity, than to enrich them; and as, notwithstanding the frugality of his life, and the great offices he had borne, there was not found money enough in his house to defray the charges of his funeral, he was buried at the expence of the public. His poverty is a circumstance which Plutarch should have mentioned, because a funeral at the public charge was an honour sometimes paid to the rich.

ed among the most honourable; the houses of the Publicolæ, the Messalæ, and Valerii,* illustrious for the space of six hundred years,† still acknowledging him as the fountain of their honour. Tellus, like a brave man, keeping his post, and fighting to the last, fell by the enemy's hand; whereas Publicola, after having slain his enemies, (a much happier circumstance than to be slain by them) after seeing his country victorious, through his conduct as consul and as general, after triumphs and all other marks of honour, died that death which Solon had so passionately wished for, and declared so happy.‡ Solon, again, in his answer to Mimnermus, concerning the period of human life, thus exclaims:

> Let friendship's faithful heart attend my bier,
> Heave the sad sigh, and drop the pitying tear!

And Publicola had this felicity: For he was lamented not only by his friends and relations, but by the whole city; thousands attended his funeral with tears, with regret, with the deepest sorrow; and the Roman matrons mourned for him, as for the loss of a son, a brother or a common parent.

Another wish of Solon's is thus expressed:

> The flow of riches though desired,
> Life's real goods, if well acquir'd,
> Unjustly let me never gain,
> Lest vengeance follow in their train.

And Publicola not only acquired, but employed his riches honourably, for he was a generous benefactor to the poor: so that if Solon was the wisest, Publicola was the happiest

* That is *the other* Valerii, viz. the *Maximi*, the *Corvini*, the *Potiti*, the *Lævini*, and the *Flacci*.

† It appears from this passage that Plutarch wrote this life about the beginning of Trajan's reign.

‡ Cicero thought this wish of Solon's unsuitable to so wise a man, and preferred to it that of the poet Ennius, who pleasing himself with the thought of an immortality on earth as a poet, desired to die unlamented. Cicero rejoiced in the same prospect as an orator. The passion for immortality is, indeed, a natural one; but as the chief part of our happiness consists in the exercise of the benevolent affections, in giving and receiving sincere testimonies of regard, the undoubted expressions of that regard must soothe the pains of a dying man, and comfort him with the reflection, that he has not been wanting in the offices of humanity.

of human kind. What the former had wished for as the greatest and most desirable of blessings, the latter actually possessed, and continued to enjoy.

Thus Solon did honour to Publicola, and he to Solon in his turn. For he considered him as the most excellent pattern that could be proposed, in regulating a democracy; and, like him, laying aside the pride of power, he rendered it gentle and acceptable to all. He also made use of several of Solon's laws; for he empowered the people to elect their own magistrates, and left an appeal to them from the sentence of other courts, as the Athenian lawgiver had done. He did not, indeed, with Solon, create a new senate,* but he almost doubled the number of that which he found in being.

His reason for appointing *quæstors* or *treasurers* was, that if the consul was a worthy man he might have leisure to attend to greater affairs; if unworthy, that he might not have greater opportunities of injustice, when both the government and treasury were under his direction.

Publicola's aversion to tyrants was stronger than that of Solon. For, the latter made every attempt to set up arbitrary power punishable by law; but the former made it death without the formality of trial. Solon, indeed, justly and reasonably plumes himself upon refusing absolute power, when both the state of affairs and the inclinations of the people would have readily admitted it: and yet it was no less glorious for Publicola, when, finding the consular authority too despotic, he rendered it milder and more popular, and did not stretch it so far as he might have done. That this was the best method of governing, Solon seems to have been sensible before him, when he says of a republic,

> The reins nor strictly nor too loosely hold,
> And safe the car of slippery power you guide.

But the annulling of debts was peculiar to Solon, and was indeed the most effectual way to support the liberty of

* By βουλη, we apprehend that Plutarch here rather means the senate or council of *four hundred*, than the council of *Areopagus*. The *four hundred* had the prior cognizance of all that was to come before the people, and nothing could be proposed to the general assembly till digested by them; so that, as far as he was able, he provided against a thirst of arbitrary power in the rich, and a desire of licentious freedom in the commons; the Areopagus being a check upon the former, as the senate was a curb upon the latter.

the people. For laws intended to establish an equality would be of no avail, while the poor were deprived of the benefit of that equality by their debts. Where they seemed most to exercise their liberty, in offices, in debates, and in deciding causes, there they were most enslaved to the rich, and entirely under their controul.... What is more considerable in this case is, that, though the cancelling of debts generally produces seditions, Solon seasonably applied it, as a strong, though hazardous medicine, to remove the sedition then existing. The measure, too, lost its infamous and obnoxious nature, when made use of by a man of Solon's probity and character.

If we consider the whole administration of each, Solon's was more illustrious at first. He was an original, and followed no example; besides, by himself, without a colleague, he effected many great things for the public advantage. But Publicola's fortune was more to be admired at last. For Solon lived to see his own establishment overturned; whereas that of Publicola preserved the state in good order to the time of the civil wars. And no wonder; since the former, as soon as he had enacted his laws, left them inscribed on tables of wood, without any one to support their authority, and departed from Athens; whilst the latter remaining at Rome, and continuing in the magistracy, thoroughly established and secured the commonwealth.

Solon was sensible of the ambitious designs of Pisistratus, and desirous to prevent their being put in execution; but he miscarried in the attempt, and saw a tyrant set up. On the other hand, Publicola demolished kingly power, when it had been established for some ages, and was at a formidable height. He was equalled by Solon in virtue and patriotism, but he had power and good fortune to second his virtue, which the other wanted.

As to warlike exploits, there is a considerable difference; for Daimachus *Platæensis* does not even attribute that enterprize against the Megarensians to Solon, as we have done; whereas Publicola, in many great battles, performed the duty both of a general and a private soldier.

Again, if we compare their conduct in civil affairs, we shall find that Solon, only acting a part, as it were.

and under the form of a maniac, went out to speak concerning the recovery of Salamis. But Publicola, in the face of the greatest danger, rose up against Tarquin, detected the plot, prevented the escape of the vile conspirators, had them punished, and not only excluded the tyrants from the city, but cut up their hopes by the roots. If he was thus vigorous in prosecuting affairs that required spirit, resolution, and open force, he was still more successful in negociation, and the gentle arts of persuasion; for, by his address, he gained Porsena, whose power was so formidable, that he could not be quelled by dint of arms, and made him a friend to Rome.

But here, perhaps, some will object, that Solon recovered Salamis, when the Athenians had given it up; whereas Publicola surrendered lands that the Romans were in possession of. Our judgment of actions, however, should be formed according to the respective times and posture of affairs. An able politician, to manage all for the best, varies his conduct as the present occasion requires; often quits a part, to save the whole; and, by yielding in small matters, secures considerable advantages. Thus Publicola, by giving up what the Romans had lately usurped, saved all that was really their own; and, at a time when they found it difficult to defend their city, gained for them the possession of the besieger's camp. In effect, by referring his cause to the arbitration of the enemy, he gained his point, and, with that, all the advantages he could have proposed to himself by a victory. For Porsena put an end to the war, and left the Romans all the provision he had made for carrying it on, induced by that impression of their virtue and honour, which he had received from Publicola.

THEMISTOCLES.

THE family of Themistocles was too obscure to raise him to distinction. He was the son of Neocles, an inferior citizen of Athens, of the ward of Phrear, and the tribe of Leontis. By his mother's side he is said to have been illegitimate,* according to the following verses:

> Though born in Thrace, Abrotonon my name,
> My son enrolls me in the lists of fame,
> The great Themistocles.

Yet Phanias writes, that the mother of Themistocles was of Caria, not of Thrace, and that her name was not Abrotonon but Euterpe. Neanthes mentions Halicarnassus as the city to which she belonged. But be that as it may, when all the illegitimate youth assembled at Cynosarges, in the wrestling-ring dedicated to Hercules, without the gates; which was appointed for that purpose, because Hercules himself was not altogether of divine extraction, but had a mortal for his mother; Themistocles found means to persuade some of the young noblemen to go to Cynosarges, and take their exercise with him. This was an ingenious contrivance to take away the distinction between the illegitimate or aliens, and the legitimate, whose parents were both Athenians. It is plain, however, that he was related to the house of the Lycomedæ;† for Simonides informs us, that when a chapel‡ of that family in the ward of Phyle, where the mysteries of Ceres used to be celebrated, was burnt down by the barbarians, Themistocles rebuilt it, and adorned it with pictures.

It appears, that, when a boy, he was full of spirit and fire, quick of apprehension, naturally inclined to bold attempts, and likely to make a great statesman. His

* It was a law at Athens, that every citizen who had a foreigner, to his mother, should be deemed a bastard, though born in wedlock, and should consequently be incapable of inheriting his father's estate.

† The Lycomedæ were a family in Athens, who (according to Pausanias) had the care of the sacrifices offered to Ceres; and in that chapel which Themistocles rebuilt, initiations and other mysteries were celebrated.

‡ τελεστηριον.

hours of leisure and vacation he spent not, like other boys, in idleness and play; but he was always inventing and composing declamations; the subjects of which were either the impeachment or defence of some of his school-fellows: So that his master would often say, "Boy, you will be nothing common or indifferent: You will either be a blessing or a curse to the community." As for moral philosophy, and the polite arts, he learned them but slowly, and with little satisfaction; but instructions in political knowledge, and the administration of public affairs, he received with an attention above his years; because they suited his genius. When, therefore, he was laughed at, long after, in company where free scope was given to raillery, by persons who passed as more accomplished in what was called genteel breeding, he was obliged to answer them with some asperity: "'Tis true I never learned how to tune a harp, or play upon a lute, but I know how to raise a small and inconsiderable city to glory and greatness."

Stesimbrotus, indeed, informs us, that Themistocles studied natural philosophy, both under Anaxagoras and Melissus. But in this he errs against chronology.* For when Pericles, who was much younger than Themistocles, besieged Samos, Melissus defended it, and Anaxagoras lived with Pericles. Those seem to deserve more attention who say, that Themistocles was a follower of Mnesiphilus the Phrearian; who was neither orator, nor natural philosopher, but a professor of what was then called wisdom,† which consisted in a knowledge of the arts of government, and the practical part of poetical prudence. This was a sect formed upon the principles of Solon,‡ and descending in succession from him; but when the science of government came to be mixed with forensic arts,

* Anaxagoras was born in the first year of the 70th Olympiad; Themistocles won the battle of Salamis the first year of the 75th Olympiad; and Melissus defended Samos against Pericles the last year of the 84th Olympiad. Themistocles, therefore, could neither study under Anaxagoras, who was only twenty years old when that general gained the battle of Salamis, nor yet under Melissus, who did not begin to flourish till 36 years after that battle.

† The first sages were in reality great politicians, who gave rules and precepts for the government of communities. Thales was the first who carried his speculations into physics.

‡ During the space of about an hundred or an hundred and twenty years.

and passed from action to mere words, its professors, instead of sages were called Sophists.* Themistocles, however, was conversant in public business, when he attended the lectures of Mnesiphilus.

In the first sallies of youth, he was irregular and unsteady; as he followed his own disposition, without any moral restraints. He lived in extremes, and those extremes were often of the worst kind.† But he seemed to apologize for this afterwards, when he observed, that *the wildest colts make the best horses, when they come to be properly broke and managed.* The stories, however, which some tell us, of his father's disinheriting him, and his mother's laying violent hands upon herself, because she could not bear the thoughts of her son's infamy, seem to be quite fictitious. Others, on the contrary, say, that his father, to dissuade him from accepting any public employment, showed him some old galleys that lay worn out and neglected on the sea-shore, just as the populace neglect their leaders, when they have no farther service for them.

Themistocles had an early and violent inclination for public business, and was so strongly smitten with the love of glory, with an ambition of the highest station, that he involved himself in troublesome quarrels with persons of the first rank and influence in the state, particularly with Aristides the son of Lysimachus, who always opposed him. Their enmity began early, but the cause, as Ariston the philosopher relates, was nothing more than their regard for Ptesileus of Teos. After this, their disputes con-

* The Sophists were rather rhetoricians than philosophers, skilled in words, but superficial in knowledge, as Diogenes Laertius informs us. Protagoras, who flourished about the 84th Olympiad, a little before the birth of Plato, was the first who had the appellation of *Sophist.* But Socrates, who was more conversant in morality than in politics, physics, or rhetoric, and who was desirous to improve the world rather in practise than in theory, modestly took the name of *Philosophos*, i. e. *a lover of wisdom*, and not that of *Sophos*, i. e. *a sage* or *wise man.*

† Idomeneus says, that one morning Themistocles harnassed four naked courtezans in a chariot, and made them draw him across the Ceramicus in the sight of all the people, who were there assembled; and that at a time when the Athenians were perfect strangers to debauchery, either in wine or women. But if that vice was then so little known in Athens, how could there be found four prostitutes impudent enough to be exposed in that manner?

tinued about public affairs; and the dissimilarity of their lives and manners naturally added to it. Aristides was of a mild temper and of great probity. He managed the concerns of government with inflexible justice, not with a view to ingratiate himself with the people, or to promote his own glory, but solely for the advantage and safety of the state. He was, therefore, necessarily obliged to oppose Themistocles, and to prevent his promotion, because he frequently put the people upon unwarrantable enterprizes, and was ambitious of introducing great innovations. Indeed, Themistocles was so carried away with the love of glory, so immoderately desirous of distinguishing himself by some great action, that, though he was very young, when the battle of Marathon was fought, and when the generalship of Miltiades was every where extolled, yet even then he was observed to keep much alone, to be very pensive, to watch whole nights, and not to attend the usual entertainments :...When he was asked the reason by his friends, who wondered at the change, he said, *The trophies of Miltiades would not suffer him to sleep.* While others imagined the defeat of the Persians at Marathon had put an end to the war, he considered it as the beginning of greater conflicts.,* and, for the benefit of Greece, he was always preparing himself and the Athenians against those conflicts, because he foresaw them at a distance.†

And, in the first place, whereas the Athenians had used to share the revenue, of the silver mines of Laurium among themselves, he alone had the courage to make a motion to the people, that they should divide them in that manner no longer, but build with them a number of galleys to be employed in the war against the Æginetæ, who then made a considerable figure in Greece, and by means of their numerous navy were masters of the sea. By seasonably stirring up the resentment and emulation of

* He did not question but Darius would at length perceive, that the only way to deal with the Greeks was to attack them vigorously by sea, where they could make the least opposition.

† The two principal qualifications of a general are a quick and comprehensive view of what is to be done upon any present emergency, and a happy foresight of what is to come: Themistocles possessed both these qualifications in a great degree. With respect to the latter, Thucydides gives him this eulogium, επι πλειστον τε γιγνομενων αριστος εικαστης.

his countrymen against these islanders,* he the more easily prevailed with them to provide themselves with ships, than if he had displayed the terrors of Darius and the Persians, who were at a greater distance, and of whose coming they had no great apprehensions. With this money a hundred galleys, with three banks of oars, were built, which afterwards fought against Xerxes. From this step he proceeded to others, in order to draw the attention of the Athenians to maritime affairs, and to convince them, that, though by land they were not able to cope with their neighbours, yet with a naval force they might not only repel the barbarians, but hold all Greece in subjection. Thus of good land forces, as Plato says, he made them mariners and seamen, and brought upon himself the aspersion, of taking from his countrymen the spear and the shield, and sending them to the bench and the oar. Stesimbrotus writes that Themistocles effected this, in spite of the opposition of Miltiades. Whether by this proceeding he corrupted the simplicity of the Athenian constitution, is a speculation not proper to be indulged here. But that the Greeks owed their safety to these naval applications, and that those ships re-established the city of Athens after it had been destroyed, (to omit other proofs) Xerxes himself is a sufficient witness. For, after his defeat at sea, he was no longer able to make head against the Athenians, though his land forces remained entire; and, it seems to me, that he left Mardonius rather to prevent a pursuit, than with any hope of his bringing Greece into subjection.

Some authors write, that Themistocles was intent upon the acquisition of money, with a view to spend it profusely; and indeed, for his frequent sacrifices, and the splendid manner in which he entertained strangers, he had need of a large supply. Yet others, on the contrary, accuse him of meanness and attention to trifles, and say he even sold presents that were made him for his table. Nay, when

* Plutarch in this place follows Herodotus. But Thucydides is express, that Themistocles availed himself of both these arguments, the apprehensions which the Athenians were under of the return of the Persians, as well as the war against the Æginetæ. Indeed he could not neglect so powerful an inducement to strengthen themselves at sea, since, according to Plato, accounts were daily brought of the formidable preparations of Darius; and, upon his death, it appeared that Xerxes inherited all his father's rancour against the Greeks.

he begged a colt of Philides, who was a breeder of horses, and was refused, he threatened, *he would soon make a Trojan horse of his house*, enigmatically hinting, that he would raise up troubles and impeachments against him from some of his own family.

In ambition, however, he had no equal. For when he was yet young, and but little known, he prevailed upon Epicles of Hermione, a performer upon the lyre, much valued by the Athenians, to practise at his house; hoping by this means to draw a great number of people thither. And when he went to the Olympic games, he endeavoured to equal or exceed Cimon, in the elegance of his table, the splendor of his pavilions, and other expences of his train. These things, however, were not agreeable to the Greeks. They looked upon them as suitable to a young man of a noble family; but when an obscure person set himself up so much above his fortune, he gained nothing by it but the imputation of vanity. He exhibited a tragedy,* too, at his own expence, and gained the prize with his tragedians, at a time when those entertainments were pursued with great avidity and emulation. In memory of his success, he put up this inscription, *Themistocles the Phrearian exhibited the tragedy, Phrynichus composed it,*† *Adimantus presided.* This gained him popularity; and what added to it, was, his charging his memory with the names of the citizens; so that he readily called each by his own. He was an impartial judge, too, in the causes that were brought before him; and Simonides of Ceos,‡ mak-

* Tragedy at this time was just arrived at perfection; and so great a taste had the Athenians for this kind of entertainment, that the principal persons in the commonwealth could not oblige them more than by exhibiting the best tragedy with the most elegant decorations. Public prizes were appointed for those that excelled in this respect; and it was matter of great emulation to gain them.

† Phrynichus was the disciple of Thespis, who was esteemed the inventor of tragedy. He was the first that brought female actors upon the stage. His chief plays were Actæon, Alcestis, and the Danaides. Æschylus was his cotemporary.

‡ Simonides celebrated the battles of Marathon and Salamis in his poems; and was the author of several odes and elegies; some of which are still extant and well known. He was much in the favour of Pausanias king of Sparta, and of Hiero king of Sicily. Plato had so high an opinion of his merit, that he gave him the epithet of *divine*. He died in the first year of the 78th Olympiad, at almost ninety years of age; so that he was very near fourscore when he described the battle of Salamis.

ing an unreasonable request to him when *archon*,* he answered, *Neither would you be a good poet, if you transgressed the rules of harmony; nor I a good magistrate, if I granted your petition contrary to law.* Another time he rallied Simonides for *his absurdity in abusing the Corinthians, who inhabited so elegant a city; and having his own picture drawn, when he had so ill-favoured an aspect.*

At length, having attained to a great height of power and popularity, his faction prevailed, and he procured the banishment of Aristides by what is called the *Ostracism*.†

The Medes now preparing to invade Greece again, the Athenians considered who should be their general; and many (we are told) thinking the commission dangerous, declined it. But Epicydes, the son of Euphemides, a man of more eloquence than courage, and capable withal of being bribed, solicited it, and was likely to be chosen. Themistocles, fearing the consequence would be fatal to the public, if the choice fell upon Epicydes, prevailed upon him by pecuniary considerations to drop his pretensions.

His behaviour is also commended with respect to the interpreter who came with the king of Persia's ambassadors that were sent to demand earth and water.‡ By a decree of the people, he put him to death, for presuming to make use of the Greek language to express the de-

* The former translator renders αυτω στρατηγουντος, *when he was commander of the army*, which is indeed the sense of it a little below, but not here. Plutarch uses the word στρατηγος for *prætor*, which is almost synonymous to *archon*. And in this passage he so explains it himself, *Nor should I be a good archon*, &c.

† It is not certain by whom the *Ostracism* was introduced; some say, by Pisistratus, or rather by his sons; others, by Clisthenes; and others make it as ancient as the time of Theseus. By this men, who became powerful to such a degree, as to threaten the state with danger, were banished for ten years: and they were to quit the Athenian territories in ten days. The method of it was this; every citizen took a piece of a broken pot or shell, on which he wrote the name of the person he would have banished. This done, the magistrates counted the shells; and, if they amounted to 6000, sorted them: and the man whose name was found on the greatest number of shells, was of course exiled for ten years.

‡ This was a demand of submission. But Herodotus assures us, that Xerxes did not send such an embassy to the Athenians: the ambassadors of his father Darius were treated with great indignity when they made that demand; for the Athenians threw them into a ditch, and told them, *There was earth and water enough.*

mands of the barbarians. To this we may add his proceedings in the affair of Arthmius the Zelite ;* who, at his motion, was declared infamous, with his children and all his posterity, for bringing Persian gold into Greece. But that which redounded most of all to his honour, was, his putting an end to the Grecian wars, reconciling the several states to each other, and persuading them to lay aside their animosities during the war with Persia. In this he is said to have been much assisted by Chileus the Arcadian.

As soon as he had taken the command upon him, he endeavoured to persuade the people to quit the city, to embark on board their ships, and to meet the barbarians at as great a distance from Greece as possible. But, many opposing it, he marched at the head of a great army, together with the Lacedæmonians, to Tempe, intending to cover Thessaly, which had not as yet declared for the Persians. When he returned without effecting any thing, the Thessalians having embraced the king's party, and all the country, as far as Bœotia, following their example, the Athenians were more willing to hearken to his proposal to fight the enemy at sea, and sent him with a fleet to guard the straits of Artemisium.†

When the fleets of the several states were joined, and the majority were of opinion, that Eurybiades should have the chief command, and with his Lacedæmonians begin the engagement ; the Athenians, who had a greater number of ships than all the rest united,‡ thought it an indignity to part with the place of honour. But Themistocles perceiving the danger of any disagreement at that time, gave up the command to Eurybiades, and satisfied the Athenians, by representing to them, that, if they behaved

* Arthmius was of Zele, a town in Asia Minor, but settled at Athens. He was not only declared infamous for bringing in Persian gold, and endeavouring to corrupt with it some of the principal Athenians, but banished by sound of trumpet. *Vide* Æschin. Orat. cont. *Ctesiphon.*

† At the same time that the Greeks thought of defending the pass of Thermopylæ by land, they sent a fleet to hinder the passage of the Persian navy through the straits of Eubœa, which fleet rendezvoused at Artemisium.

‡ Herodotus tells us in the beginning of his eighth book, that the Athenians furnished 127 vessels, and that the whole complement of the rest of the Greeks amounted to no more than 151; of which twenty belonged likewise to the Athenians, who had lent them to the Chalcidians.

like men in that war, the Grecians would voluntarily yield them the superiority for the future. To him, therefore, Greece seems to owe her preservation, and the Athenians in particular the distinguished glory of surpassing their enemies in valour, and their allies in moderation.

The Persian fleet coming up to Aphetæ, Eurybiades was astonished at such an appearance of ships, particularly when he was informed that there were two hundred more sailing round Sciathus. He, therefore, was desirous, without loss of time, to draw nearer to Greece, and to keep close to the Peloponnesian coast, where he might have an army occasionally to assist the fleet; for he considered the naval force of the Persians as invincible. Upon this, the Eubœans, apprehensive that the Greeks would forsake them, sent Pelagon to negociate privately with Themistocles, and to offer him a large sum of money. He took the money, and gave it (as Herodotus writes) to Eurybiades.* Finding himself most opposed in his designs by Architeles, captain of the *sacred galley* † who had not money to pay his men, and therefore intended immediately to withdraw; he so incensed his countrymen against him, that they went in a tumultuous manner on board his ship, and took from him what he had provided for his supper. Architeles being much provoked at this insult, Themistocles sent him in a chest a quantity of provisions, and at the bottom of it a talent of silver, and desired him to refresh himself that evening, and to satisfy his crew in the morning; otherwise, he would accuse him to the Athenians of having received a bribe from the enemy. This particular is mentioned by Phanias the Lesbian.

* According to Herodotus, the affair was thus: The Eubœans, not being able to prevail with Eurybiades to remain on their coast, till they could carry off their wives and children, addressed themselves to Themistocles, and made him a present of thirty talents. He took the money; and with five talents bribed Eurybiades. Then Adiamanthus the Corinthian, being the only commander who insisted on weighing anchor; Themistocles went on board him, and told him in few words: "Adiamanthus, you shall not abandon us, for I will give you a greater present for doing your duty than the king of the Medes would send you for deserting the allies." Which he performed by sending him three talents on board. Thus he did what the Eubœans requested, and saved twenty-two talents for himself.

† The *sacred galley* was that which the Athenians sent every year to Delos, with sacrifices for Apollo; and they pretend it was the same in which Theseus carried the tribute to Crete.

Though the several engagements * with the Persian fleet in the straits of Eubœa were not decisive; yet they were of great advantage to the Greeks, who learned by experience, that neither the number of ships, nor the beauty and splendour of their ornaments, nor the vaunting shouts and songs of the barbarians, have any thing dreadful in them to men that know how to fight hand to hand, and are determined to behave gallantly. These things they were taught to despise, when they came to close action and grappled with the foe. In this case Pindar's sentiments appear just, when he says of the fight at Artemisium,

> 'Twas then that Athens the foundations laid
> Of Liberty's fair structure.

Indeed, intrepid courage is the commencement of victory.

Artemisium is a maritime place of Eubœa, to the north of Hestiæa. Over against it lies Olizon, in the territory that formerly was subject to Philoctetes; where there is a small temple of Diana of the *East*, in the midst of a grove. The temple is encircled with pillars of white stone, which, when rubbed with the hand, has both the colour and smell of saffron. On one of the pillars are inscribed the following verses:

> When on these seas the sons of Athens conquer'd
> The various powers of Asia; grateful here
> They rear'd this temple to Diana.

There is a place still to be seen upon this shore, where there is a large heap of sand, which, if dug into, shows towards the bottom a black dust like ashes, as if some fire had been there; and this is supposed to have been that in which the wrecks of the ships and the bodies of the dead were burnt.

The news of what had happened at Thermopylæ being brought to Artemisium,† when the confederates were in-

* They came to three several engagements within three days; in the last of which, Clineas, the father of Alcibiades, performed wonders. He had, at his own expence, fitted out a ship which carried two hundred men.

† The last engagement at Thermopylæ, wherein Xerxes forced the passes of the mountains, by the defeat of the Lacedæmonians,

formed that Leonidas was slain there, and Xerxes master of the passages by land, they sailed back to Greece; and the Athenians elated with their late distinguished valour, brought up the rear. As Themistocles sailed along the coasts, wherever he saw any harbours or places proper for the enemy's ships to put in at, he took such stones as he happened to find, or caused to be brought thither for that purpose, and set them up in the ports and watering-places, with the following inscription engraved in large characters, and addressed to the Ionians. "Let the Ionians, if it be possible, come over to the Greeks, from whom they are descended, and who now risk their lives for their liberty. If this be impracticable, let them at least perplex the barbarians, and put them in disorder in time of action." By this he hoped either to bring the Ionians over to his side, or to sow discord among them, by causing them to be suspected by the Persians.

Though Xerxes had passed through Doris down to Phocis, and was burning and destroying the Phocion cities, yet the Greeks sent them no succours. And, notwithstanding all the intreaties the Athenians could use to prevail with the confederates, to repair with them into Bœotia, and cover the frontiers of Attica, as *they* had sent a fleet to Artemisium to serve the common cause, no one gave ear to their request. All eyes were turned upon Peloponnesus, and all were determined to collect their forces within the *Isthmus*, and to build a wall across it from sea to sea. The Athenians were greatly incensed to see themselves thus betrayed, and, at the same time, dejected and discouraged at so general a defection. They alone could not think of giving battle to so prodigious an army. To quit the city, and embark on board their ships, was the only expedient at present; and this the generality were very unwilling to hearken to, as they could neither have any great ambition for victory, nor idea of safety,

Thespians and Thebans, who had been left to guard them, happened on the same day with the battle at Artemisium; and the news of it was brought to Themistocles by an Athenian called Abronichus. Though the action at Thermopylæ had not an immediate relation to Themistocles, yet it would have tended more to the glory of that general, if Plutarch had taken greater notice of it; since the advantage gained there by Xerxes, opened Greece to him, and rendered him much more formidable. Thermopylæ is well known to be a narrow pass in the mountains near the Euripus.

when they had left the temples of their gods and the monuments of their ancestors.

Themistocles, perceiving that he could not by the force of human reason prevail with the multitude,* set his machinery to work, as a poet would do in a tragedy, and had recourse to prodigies and oracles. The prodigy he availed himself of, was, the disappearing of the dragon of Minerva, which at that time quitted the holy place; and the priests finding the daily offerings set before it untouched, gave it out among the people, at the suggestion of Themistocles, that the goddess had forsaken the city, and that she offered to conduct them to sea. Moreover, by way of explaining to the people an oracle then received,† he told them, that, by *wooden walls*, there could not possibly be any thing meant but ships; and that Apollo, now calling Salamis *divine*, not *wretched* and *unfortunate*, as formerly, signified by such an epithet, that it would be productive of some great advantage to Greece. His councils prevailed, and he proposed a decree, that the city should be left to the protection of Minerva,‡ the tutelary goddess of the Athenians; that the young men should go on board the ships; and that every one should

* He prevailed so effectually at last, that the Athenians stoned Cyrsilus, an orator, who vehemently opposed him, and urged all the common topics of love to the place of one's birth, and the affection to wives and helpless infants. The women too, to show how far they were from desiring that the cause of Greece should suffer for them, stoned his wife.

† This was the second oracle, which the Athenian deputies received from Aristonice priestess of Apollo Many were of opinion, that, by the walls of wood which she advised them to have recourse to, was meant the citadel, because it was palisaded; but others thought it could intend nothing but ships. The maintainers of the former opinion urged against such as supported the latter, that the last line but one of the oracle, Ω θειη Σαλαμις, απολεις, δε συ τεκνα γυναικων, was directly against him, and that, without question, it portended the destruction of the Athenian fleet near Salamis. Themistocles alleged in answer, that if the oracle had intended to foretel the destruction of the Athenians, it would not have called it the divine Salamis, but the unhappy; and that whereas the unfortunate in the oracle were styled the sons of women, it could mean no other than the Persians, who were scandalously effeminate. HERODOT. l. vii. c. 143, 144.

‡ But how was this, when he had before told the people that Minerva had forsaken the city!

provide as well as he possibly could for the safety of the children, the women, and the slaves.

When this decree was made, most of the Athenians removed their parents and wives to Trœzene,* where they were received with a generous hospitality. The Trœzenians came to a resolution to maintain them at the public expence, for which purpose they allowed each of them two *oboli* a day; they permitted the children to gather fruit wherever they pleased, and provided for their education by paying their tutors. This order was procured by Nicagoras.

As the treasury of Athens was then but low, Aristotle informs us that the court of *Areopagus* distributed to every man who took part in the expedition eight *drachmas;* which was the principal means of manning the fleet.... But Clidemus ascribes this also to a stratagem of Themistocles; for he tells us, that, when the Athenians went down to the harbour of Piræus, the *Aegis* was lost from the statue of Minerva; and Themistocles, as he ransacked every thing, under pretence of searching for it, found large sums of money hid among the baggage, which he applied to the public use; and out of it all necessaries were provided for the fleet.

The embarkation of the people of Athens was a very affecting scene. What pity! what admiration of the firmness of those men, who, sending their parents and families to a distant place, unmoved with their cries, their tears, or embraces, had the fortitude to leave the city, and embark for Salamis! What greatly heightened the distress, was the number of citizens whom they were forced to leave behind, because of their extreme old age.† And some emotions of tenderness were due even to the tame domestic animals, which, running to the shore, with lamentable howlings, expressed their affection and regret for the persons that had fed them. One of these, a dog that belonged to Xanthippus, the father of Pericles, unwilling to be left behind, is said to have leapt into the sea, and to have swam by the side of the ship, till it reached Salamis, where, quite spent with toil, it died im-

* Theseus, the great hero in Athenian story, was originally of Trœzene.

† In this description we find strong traces of Plutarch's humanity and good-nature.

mediately. And they shew us to this day, a place called *Cynos Sema*, where they tell us that dog was buried.

To these great actions of Themistocles may be added the following. He perceived that Aristides was much regretted by the people, who were apprehensive, that out of revenge, he might join the Persians, and do great prejudice to the cause of Greece; he, therefore, caused a decree to be made, that all who had been banished only for a time, should have leave to return, and by their counsel and valour assist their fellow-citizens in the preservation of their country.

Eurybiades, by reason of the dignity of Sparta, had the command of the fleet; but, as he was apprehensive of the danger,* he proposed to set sail for the *Isthmus*, and fix his station near the Peloponnesian army. Themistocles, however, opposed it; and the account we have of the conference on that occasion deserves to be mentioned. When Eurybiades said,† "Do not you know, Themistocles, that, in the public games, such as rise up before their turn, are chastised for it?" "Yes," answered Themistocles; "yet such as are left behind never gain the crown." Eurybiades, upon this, lifting up his staff, as if he intended to strike him, Themistocles said, "Strike, if you please, but hear me:" The Lacedæmonians admiring his command of temper, bade him speak what he had to say: and Themistocles was leading him back to the subject, when one of the officers thus interrupted him, "It ill becomes you who have no city, to advise us to quit our habitations and abandon our country." Themistocles retorted upon him thus; "Wretch, that thou art, we have indeed left our walls and houses, not choosing, for the sake of those inanimate things, to become slaves; yet we have still the most respectable city of Greece, in these two hundred ships, which are here ready

* It does not appear that Eurybiades wanted courage. After Xerxes had gained the pass of Thermopylæ, it was the general opinion of the chief officers of the confederate fleet assembled in council, (except those of Athens) that their only resource was to build a strong wall across the Isthmus, and to defend Peloponnesus against the Persians. Besides, the Lacedæmonians, who were impartial judges of men and things, gave the palm of valour to Eurybiades, and that of prudence to Themistocles.

† Herodotus says, this conversation passed between Adiamanthus, general of the Corinthians, and Themistocles; but Plutarch relates it with more probability of Eurybiades, who was commander in chief.

to defend you, if you will give them leave. But if you forsake and betray us a second time, Greece shall soon find the Athenians possessed of as free a city,* and as valuable a country as that which they have quitted." These words struck Eurybiades with the apprehension that the Athenians might fall off from him. We are told also, that, as a certain Eretrian was attempting to speak, Themistocles said, "What! have you, too, something to say about war, who are like the fish that has a sword, but no heart."

While Themistocles was thus maintaining his argument upon deck, some tell us an owl was seen flying to the right of the fleet,† which came and perched upon the shrouds. This omen determined the confederates to accede to his opinion, and to prepare for a sea-fight. But no sooner did the enemy's fleet appear advancing towards the harbour of Phalerus in Attica, and covering all the neighbouring coasts, while Xerxes himself was seen marching his land forces to the shore, than the Greeks, struck with the sight of such prodigious armaments, began to forget the counsel of Themistocles, and the Peloponnesians once more looked towards the *Isthmus*. Nay they resolved to set sail that very night, and such orders were given to all the pilots. Themistocles greatly concerned that the Greeks were going to give up the advantage of their station in the straits,‡ and to retire to their respective countries, contrived that stratagem which was put in execution by Sicinus. This Sicinus was of Persian extraction,|| and a captive, but much attached to The-

* The address of Themistocles is very much to be admired. If Eurybiades was really induced by his fears to return to the Isthmus, the Athenians took a right method to remove those fears by suggesting greater; for what other free country could he intimate that the people of Athens would acquire, but that when driven from their own city, in their distress and despair, they might seize the state of Sparta?

† The owl was sacred to Minerva the protectress of the Athenians.

‡ If the confederates had quitted the straits of Salamis, where they could equal the Persians in the line of battle, such of the Athenians as were in that island must have become an easy prey to the enemy; and the Persians would have found an open sea on the Peloponnesian coast, where they could act with all their force against the ships of the allies.

|| Probably it was from an erroneous reading of a passage in Herodotus, viz. πεμπει εις το στρατοπεδον, των Μηδων ανδρα, πλοιω,

mistocles, and the tutor of his children. On this occasion Themistocles sent him privately to the king of Persia, with orders to tell him, that the commander of the Athenians, having espoused his interest, was the first to inform him of the intended flight of the Greeks; and that he exhorted him not to suffer them to escape; but while they were in this confusion, and at a distance from their land forces, to attack and destroy their whole navy.

Xerxes took this information kindly, supposing it to proceed from friendship, and immediately gave orders to his officers, with two hundred ships, to surround all the passages, and to inclose the islands, that none of the Greeks might escape, and then to follow with the rest of the ships at their leisure. Aristides, the son of Lysimachus, was the first that perceived this motion of the enemy; and though he was not in friendship with Themistocles, but had been banished by his means, (as has been related) he went to him, and told him they were surrounded by the enemy.* Themistocles knowing his probity, and charmed with his coming to give this intelligence, acquainted him with the affair of Sicinus, and intreated him to lend his assistance to keep the Greeks in their station; and, as they had a confidence in his honour, to persuade them to come to an engagement in the straits. Aristides approved the proceedings of Themistocles, and going to the other admirals and captains, encouraged them to engage. While they hardly gave credit to his report, a Tenian galley, commanded by Parætius, came over from the enemy to bring the same account; so that indignation, added to necessity, excited the Greeks to their combat.†

instead of τὸ Μηδῶν, that Plutarch calls Sicinus a Persian. Æschylus, however, who was in this action, speaking of Sicinus, says, *A certain Greek from the army of the Athenians told Xerxes, &c.*

* Aristides was not then in the confederate fleet, but in the isle of Ægina, from whence he sailed by night, with great hazard through the Persian fleet, to carry this intelligence.

† The different conduct of the Spartans and the Athenians on this occasion seems to show how much superior the accommodating laws of Solon were to the austere discipline of Lycurgus. Indeed, while the institutions of the latter remained in force, the Lacedæmonians were the greatest of all people....But that was impossible. The severity of Lycurgus's legislation naturally tended to destroy it..... Nor was this all.....From the extremes of abstemious hardships, the

As soon as it was day, Xerxes sat down on an eminence to view the fleet and its order of battle. He placed himself, as Phanodemus writes, above the temple of Hercules, where the isle of Salamis is separated from Attica by a narrow frith; but, according to Acestodorus, on the confines of Megara, upon a spot called *Kerata, the horns*. He was seated on a throne of gold,* and had many secretaries about him, whose business it was to write down the particulars of the action.

In the mean time, as Themistocles was sacrificing on the deck of the admiral-galley, three captives were brought to him of uncommon beauty, elegantly attired, and set off with golden ornaments. They were said to be the sons of Autarctus and Sandace, sister to Xerxes. Euphrantide, the soothsayer, casting his eye upon them, and at the same time observing that a bright flame blazed out from the victims,† while a sneezing was heard from the right, took Themistocles by the hand, and ordered that the three youths should be consecrated and sacrificed to Bacchus *Omestes*;‡ for by this means the Greeks might be assured not only of safety, but victory.

Themistocles was astonished at the strangeness and cruelty of the order; but the multitude, who, in great and pressing difficulties, trust rather to absurd than rational methods, invoked the god with one voice, and leading the captives to the altar, insisted upon their being offered up, as the soothsayer had directed. This particular we have

next step was not to a moderate enjoyment of life, but to all the licentiousness of the most effeminate luxury. The laws of Lycurgus made men of the Spartan women; when they were broken, they made women of the men.

* This throne, or seat, whether of gold or silver, or both, was taken and carried to Athens, where it was consecrated in the temple of Minerva, with the golden sabre of Mardonius, which was taken afterwards in the battle of Platæa. Demosthenes calls it δίφρον ἀργυροπόδα, *a chair with silver feet*.

† A bright flame was always considered as a fortunate omen, whether it were a real one issuing from an altar, or a seeming one, (what we call shell-fire) from the head of a living person. Virgil mentions one of the latter sort, which appeared about the head of Iulus and Florus, another that was seen about the head of Servius Tullius. A sneezing on the right hand, too, was deemed a lucky omen both by the Greeks and Latins.

‡ In the same manner Chios, Tenedos, and Lesbos, offered human sacrifices to Bacchus surnamed Omodius. But this is the sole instance we know of among the Athenians.

from Phanias the Lesbian, a man not unversed in letters and philosophy.

As to the number of the Persian ships, the poet Æschylus speaks of it, in his tragedy entitled *Persæ*, as a matter he was well assured of.

> A thousand ships (for well I know the number)
> The Persian flag obey'd : two hundred more
> And seven, o'erspread the seas.

The Athenians had only one hundred and eighty galleys ; each carried eighteen men that fought upon deck, four of whom were archers, and the rest heavy-armed.

If Themistocles was happy in choosing a place for action, he was no less so in taking advantage of a proper time for it ; for he would not engage the enemy, till that time of day when a brisk wind usually arises from the sea, which occasions a high surf in the channel. This was no inconvenience to the Grecian vessels, which were low built and well compacted ; but a very great one to the Persian ships, which had high sterns and lofty decks, and were heavy and unwieldy ; for it caused them to veer in such a manner, that their sides were exposed to the Greeks who attacked them furiously. During the whole dispute, great attention was given to the motions of Themistocles, as it was believed he knew best how to proceed. Ariamenes, the Persian admiral, a man of distinguished honour, and by far the bravest of the king's brothers, directed his manœuvres chiefly aganist him. His ship was very tall, and from thence he threw darts and shot forth arrows as from the walls of a castle. But Aminias the *Decelean*, and Sosicles the Pedian, who sailed in one bottom, bore down upon him with their prow, and both ships meeting, they were fastened together by means of their brazen beaks ; when Ariamenes boarding their galley, they received him with their pikes, and pushed him into the sea. Artemisia * knew the body amongst

* Artemisia, queen of Halicarnassus, distinguished herself above all the rest of the Persian forces, her ships being the last that fled ; which Xerxes observing, cried out, that the men behaved like women and the women with the courage and intrepidity of men. The Athenians were so incensed against her, that they offered a reward of ten thousand drachmas to any one that should take her alive. This princess must not be confounded with that Artemisia, who was the wife of Mausolus king of Caira.

others that were floating with the wreck, and carried it to Xerxes.

While the fight was thus raging, we are told a great light appeared as from Eleusis; and loud sounds and voices were heard through all the plain of Thriasia to the sea, as of a great number of people carrying the mystic symbols of Bacchus in procession.* A cloud, too, seemed to rise from among the crowd that made this noise, and to ascend by degrees, till it fell upon the galleys. Other phantoms also, and apparitions of armed men, they thought they saw, stretching out their hands from Ægina before the Grecian fleet. These they conjectured to be the *Aeacidæ*,† to whom, before the battle, they had addressed their prayers for succour.

The first man that took a ship was an Athenian, named Lycomedes, captain of a galley, who cut down the ensigns from the enemy's ship, and consecrated them to the *laurelled* Apollo. As the Persians could come up in the straits but few at a time, and often put each other in confusion, the Greeks equalling them in the line, fought them till the evening, when they broke them entirely, and gained that signal and complete victory, than which (as Simonides says) no other naval atchievement either of the Greeks or barbarians ever was more glorious. This success was owing to the valour, indeed, of all the confederates, but chiefly to the sagacity and conduct of Themistocles.‡

After the battle, Xerxes, full of indignation at his disappointment, attempted to join Salamis to the continent, by a mole so well secured, that his land-forces might

* Herodotus says, these voices were heard, and this vision seen, some days before the battle, while the Persian land forces were ravaging the territories of Attica, Dicæus, an Athenian exile, (who hoped thereby to procure a mitigation of his country's fate) was the first that observed the thing, and carried an account of it to Xerxes.

† A vessel had been sent to Ægina to implore the assistance of Æcus and his descendants. Æcus was the son of Jupiter, and had been king of Ægina. He was so remarkable for his justice, that his prayers, whilst he lived, are said to have procured great advantages to the Greeks; and, after his death, it was believed that he was appointed one of the three judges in the infernal regions.

‡ In this battle, which was one of the most memorable we find in history, the Grecians lost forty ships, and the Persians two hundred, beside a great many more that were taken.

pass over it into the island, and that he might shut up the pass entirely against the Greeks. At the same time, Themistocles, to sound Aristides, pretended it was his own opinion that they should sail to the Hellespont, and break down the bridge of ships; "For so," says he, "we may take Asia, without stirring out of Europe." Aristides* did not in the least relish his proposal, but answered him to this purpose: "Till now we have had to do with an enemy immersed in luxury; but if we shut him up in Greece, and drive him to necessity, he who is master of such prodigious forces, will no longer sit under a golden canopy, and be a quiet spectator of the proceedings of the war, but awaked by danger, attempting every thing, and present every where, he will correct his past errors, and follow counsels better calculated for success. Instead, therefore, of breaking that bridge, we should, if possible, provide another, that he may retire the sooner out of Europe." "If that is the case, said Themistocles, we must all consider and contrive how to put him upon the most speedy retreat out of Greece."

This being resolved upon, he sent one of the king's eunuchs, whom he found among the prisoners, Arnaces by name, to acquaint him, "That the Greeks, since their victory at sea, were determined to sail to the Hellespont, and destroy the bridge; but that Themistocles in care for the king's safety, advised him to hasten towards his own seas, and pass over into Asia, while his friend endeavoured to find out pretences of delay, to prevent the confederates from pursuing him." Xerxes, terrified at the news, retired with the greatest precipitation.† How prudent the management of Themistocles and Aristides was, Mardonius afforded a proof, when,

* According to Herodotus, it was not Aristides, but Eurybiades who made this reply to Themistocles.

† Xerxes, having left Mardonius in Greece with an army of three hundred thousand men, marched with the rest towards Thrace, in order to cross the Hellespont. As no provisions had been prepared before hand, his army underwent great hardships, during the whole time of his march, which lasted five-and-forty days. The king, finding they were not in a condition to pursue their route so expeditiously as he desired, advanced with a small retinue; but, when he arrived at the Hellespont, he found his bridge of boats broken down by the violence of the storms, and was reduced to the necessity of crossing over in a fishing-boat. From the Hellespont he continued his flight to Sardis.

with a small part of the king's forces, he put the Greeks in extreme danger of losing all, in the battle of Platæa.

Herodotus tells us, that, among the cities, Ægina bore away the palm; but, among the commanders, Themistocles, in spite of envy, was universally allowed to have distinguished himself most. For, when they came to the Isthmus, and every officer took a billet from the altar,* to inscribe upon it the names of those that had done the best service, every one put himself in the first place, and Themistocles in the second. The Lacedæmonians, having conducted him to Sparta, adjudged Eurybiades the prize of valour, and Themistocles that of wisdom, honouring each with a crown of olive. They likewise presented the latter with the handsomest chariot in the city, and ordered three hundred of their youth to attend him to the borders. At the next Olympic games, too, we are told, that, as soon as Themistocles appeared in the ring, the champions were overlooked by the spectators, who kept their eyes upon him all the day, and pointed him out to strangers with the utmost admiration and applause. This incense was extremely grateful to him; and he acknowledged to his friends, that he then reaped the fruit of his labours for Greece.

Indeed, he was naturally very ambitious, if we may form a conclusion from his memorable acts and sayings.

For, when elected admiral by the Athenians, he would not dispatch any business, whether public or private, singly, but put off all affairs to the day he was to embark, that having a great deal to do, he might appear with the greater dignity and importance.

One day, as he was looking upon the dead bodies cast up by the sea, and saw a number of chains of gold and bracelets upon them, he passed by them, and turning to his friend, said, *Take these things for yourself, for you are not Themistocles.*

To Antiphates, who had formerly treated him with disdain, but in his glory made his court to him, he said, *Young man, we are both come to our senses at the same time, though a little too late.*

He used to say, "The Athenians paid him no honour or sincere respect; but when a storm arose, or danger

* The altar of Neptune. This solemnity was designed to make them give their judgment impartially, as in the presence of the gods.

appeared, they sheltered themselves under him, as under a plane-tree, which, when the weather was fair again, they would rob of its leaves and branches."

When one of Seriphus told him, "He was not so much honoured for his own sake, but for his country's."... "True," answered Themistocles; "for neither should I have been greatly distinguished if I had been of Seriphus, nor you, if you had been an Athenian."

Another officer, who thought he had done the state some service, setting himself up against Themistocles, and venturing to compare his own exploits with his, he answered him with this fable "There once happened a dispute between the *feast-day* and the *day after the feast*: Says the *day after the feast*, I am full of bustle and trouble, whereas, with you, folks enjoy, at their ease, every thing ready provided. You say right, says the *feast-day*, but if I had not been before you, you would not have been at all. *So, had it not been for me, then, where would you have been now?*"*

His son being master of his mother, and by her means, of him, he said, laughing, "This child is greater than any man in Greece; for the Athenians command the Greeks, I command the Athenians, his mother commands me, and he commands his mother."

As he loved to be particular in every thing, when he happened to sell a farm, he ordered the crier to add, *that it had a good neighbour.*

Two citizens courting his daughter he preferred the worthy man to the rich one, and assigned this reason, *He had rather she should have a man without money, than money without a man.* Such was the pointed manner in which he often expressed himself.†

After the greatest actions we have related, his next enterprise was to rebuild and fortify the city of Athens.... Theopompus tells, he bribed the Lacedæmonian *Ephori*, that they might not oppose it; but most historians say, he over-reached them. He was sent, it seems, on pretence

* There is the genuine Attic salt in most of these retorts and observations of Themistocles. His wit seems to have been equal to his military and political capacity.

† Cicero has preserved another of his sayings, which deserves mentioning. When Simonides offered to teach Themistocles the art of memory, he answered, *Ah! rather teach me the art of forgetting; for I often remember what I would not, and cannot forget what I would.*

of an embassy to Sparta, The Spartans complained, that the Athenians were fortifying their city, and the governor of Ægina, who was come for that purpose, supported the accusation. But Themistocles absolutely denied it, and challenged them to send proper persons to Athens to inspect the walls; at once gaining time for finishing them, and contriving to have hostages at Athens for his return. The event answered his expectation. For the Lacedæmonians, when assured how the fact stood, dissembled their resentment, and let him go with impunity.

After this, he built and fortified the Piræus, (having observed the conveniency of that harbour.) By which means he gave the city every maritime accommodation. In this respect his politics were very different from those of the ancient kings of Athens. They, we are told, used their endeavours to draw the attention of their subjects from the business of navigation, that they might turn it entirely to the culture of the ground: and to this purpose they published the fable of the contention between Minerva and Neptune, for the patronage of Attica, when the former, by producing an olive-tree before the judges, gained her cause. Themistocles did not bring the Piræus into the city, as Aristophanes the comic poet would have it; but he joined the city by a line of communication to the Piræus, and the land to the sea. This measure strengthened the people against the nobility, and made them bolder and more untractable, as power came with wealth into the hands of masters of ships, mariners, and pilots. Hence it was, that the oratory in *Pynx*, which was built to front the sea, was afterwards turned by the thirty tyrants towards the land;* for they believed a maritime power inclinable to a democracy, whereas persons employed in agriculture would be less uneasy under an oligarchy.

Themistocles had something still greater in view for strengthening the Athenians by sea. After the retreat of Xerxes, when the Grecian fleet was gone into the harbour of Pagasæ to winter, he acquainted the citizens in full assembly, "That he had hit upon a design which might greatly contribute to their advantage, but it was not fit "to

* The thirty tyrants were established at Athens by Lysander, 403 years before the Christian æra, and 77 years after the battle of Salamis.

be communicated to their whole body." The Athenians ordered him to communicate it to Aristides only,* and, if he approved of it, to put it in execution. Themistocles then informed him, "That he had thoughts of burning the confederate fleet at Pagasæ." Upon which, Aristides went and declared to the people, "That the enterprise which Themistocles proposed, was indeed the most advantageous in the world, but, at the same time, the most unjust." The Athenians, therefore, commanded him to lay aside all thoughts of it.†

About this time the Lacedæmonians made a motion in the assembly of the *Amphictyons*, to exclude from that council all those states that had not joined in the confederacy against the king of Persia. But Themistocles was apprehensive, that, if the Thessalians, the Argives, and Thebans, were expelled from the council, the Lacedæmonians would have a great majority of voices, and consequently procure what degrees they pleased. He spoke, therefore, in defence of those states, and brought the deputies off from that design, by representing, that thirty-one cities only had their share of the burden of that war, and that the greatest part of these were but of small consideration, that consequently it would be both unreasonable and dangerous to exclude the rest of Greece from the league, and leave the council to be dictated to by two or three great cities. By this he became very obnoxious to the Lacedæmonians, who, for this reason, set up Cimon against him as a rival in all affairs of state, and used all their interest for his advancement.

He disobliged the allies, also, by sailing round the islands, and extorting money from them; as we may conclude from the answer which Herodotus tells us the Andri-

* How glorious this testimony of the public regard to Aristides, from a people then so free, and withal so virtuous!

† It is hardly possible for the military and political genius of Themistocles to save him from contempt and detestation, when we arrive at this part of his conduct ....A serious proposal to burn the confederate fleet!....That fleet, whose united efforts had saved Greece from destruction!. ..which had fought under his auspices with such irresistible valour!.. .That sacred fleet, the minutest parts of which should have been religiously preserved, or if consumed, consumed only on the altars, and in the service of the gods!... How diabolical is that policy, which, in its way to power, tramples on humanity, justice, and gratitude!

ans gave him to a demand of that sort. He told them, "He brought two gods along with him, *Persuasion* and *Force*." They replied, "They had also two great gods on their side, *Poverty* and *Despair*, who forbade them to satisfy him." Timocreon, the Rhodian poet, writes with great bitterness against Themistocles, and charges him with betraying him, though his friend and host, for money, while, for the like paltry consideration, he procured the return of other exiles. So in these verses:

> Pausanius you may praise, and you Xantippus,
> And you Leutychidas: But sure the hero,
> Who bears th' Athenian palm, is Aristides.
> What is the false, the vain, Themistocles?
> The very light is grudg'd him by Latona,
> Who for vile pelf betray'd Timocreon,
> His friend and host; nor gave him to behold
> His dear Jalysus. For three talents more
> He sail'd and left him on a foreign coast.
> What fatal end awaits the man that kills,
> That banishes, that sets the villain up,
> To fill his glitt'ring stores? while ostentation,
> With vain airs, fain would boast the generous hand,
> And, at the Isthmus, spreads a public board
> For crowds that eat, and curse him at the banquet.

But Timocreon gave a still looser rein to his abuse of Themistocles, after the condemnation and banishment of that great man, in a poem which begins thus:

> Muse, crown'd with glory, bear this faithful strain,
> Far as the Grecian name extends.....

Timocreon is said to have been banished by Themistocles for favouring the Persians. When, therefore, Themistocles was accused of the same traitorous inclinations, he wrote against him as follows:

> Timocreon's honour to the Medes is sold,
> But yet not his alone: Another fox
> Finds the same fields to prey in.

As the Athenians, through envy, readily gave ear to calumnies against him, he was often forced to recount his own services, which rendered him still more insupportable; and when they expressed their displeasure, he said, *Are you weary of receiving benefits often from the same hand?*

Another offence he gave the people, was, his building a temple to Diana, under the name of *Aristobule*, or, Diana

of the best counsel, intimating that he had given the best counsel, not only to Athens, but to all Greece. He built this temple near his own house, in the quarter of Melita, where now the executioners cast out the bodies of those that have suffered death, and where they throw the halters and clothes of such as have been strangled or otherwise put to death. There was, even in our times, a statue of Themistocles in this temple of Diana *Aristobule*, from which it appeared that his aspect was as heroic as his soul.

At last, the Athenians unable any longer to bear that high distinction in which he stood, banished him by the *Ostracism*; and this was nothing more than they had done to others whose power was become a burthen to them, and who had risen above the equality which a commonwealth requires; for the *Ostracism*, or, *ten years banishment*, was not so much intended to punish this or that great man, as to pacify and mitigate the fury of envy, who delights in the disgrace of superior characters, and loses a part of her rancour by their fall.

In the time of his exile, while he took up his abode at Argos,* the affair of Pausanias gave great advantage to the enemies of Themistocles. The person that accused him of treason, was Leobotes the son of Alcmæon, of Agraule, and the Spartans joined in the impeachment. Pausanias at first concealed his plot from Themistocles, though he was his friend; but when he saw him an exile, and full of indignation against the Athenians, he ventured to communicate his designs to him, shewing him the king of Persia's letters, and exciting him to vengeance against the Greeks, as an unjust and ungrateful people. Themistocles rejected the solicitations of Pausanias, and re-

* The great Pausanias, who had beaten the Persians in the battle of Platæa, and who, on many occasions, had behaved with great generosity as well as moderation, at last degenerated; and fell into a scandalous treaty with the Persians, in hopes, through their interest, to make himself sovereign of Greece. As soon as he had conceived these strange notions, he fell into the manners of the Persians, affected all their luxury, and derided the plain customs of his country, of which he had formerly been so fond. The *Ephori* waited some time for clear proof of his treacherous designs, and when they had obtained it, determined to imprison him. But he fled into the temple of Minerva Chalcioicos, and they besieged him there. They walled up all the gates, and his own mother laid the first stone. When they had almost starved him to death, they laid hands on him, and by the time they had got him out of the temple, he expired.

fused to have the least share in his designs ; but he gave no information of what had passed between them, nor let the secret transpire ; whether he thought he would desist of himself, or that he would be discovered some other way, as he had embarked in an absurd and extravagant enterprise without any rational hopes of success.

However, when Pausanias was put to death, there were found letters and other writings relative to the business, which caused no small suspicion against Themistocles. The Lacedæmonians raised a clamour against him ; and those of his fellow-citizens that envied him, insisted on the charge. He could not defend himself in person, but he answered by letter the principal parts of the accusation. For, to obviate the calumnies of his enemies, he observed to the Athenians, " That he who was born to command, and incapable of servitude, could never sell himself, and Greece along with him, to enemies and barbarians." The people, however, listened to his accusers, and sent them with orders to bring him to his answer before the states of Greece. Of this he had timely notice, and passed over to the isle of Corcyra. The inhabitants of which had great obligations to him ; for a difference between them and the people of Corinth had been referred to his arbitration, and he had decided it by awarding the Corinthians* to pay down twenty talents, and the isle of Leucas to be in common between the two parties, as a colony from both. From thence he fled to Epirus ; and, finding himself still pursued by the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, he tried a very hazardous and uncertain resource, in imploring the protection of Admetus, king of the Molossians. Admetus had made a request to the Athenians, which being rejected with scorn by Themistocles in the time of his prosperity and influence in the state, the king entertained a deep resentment against him, and made no secret of his intention to revenge himself, if ever the Athenian should fall into his power.... However, while he was thus flying from place to place, he

* The scholiast upon Thucydides tells us, Themistocles served the people of Corcyra in an affair of greater importance. The states of Greece were inclined to make war upon that island for not joining in the league against Xerxes ; but Themistocles represented, that, if they were in that manner to punish all the cities that had not acceded to the league, their proceedings would bring greater calamities upon Greece than it had suffered from the barbarians.

was more afraid of the recent envy of his countrymen, than of the consequences of an old quarrel with the king; and therefore he went and put himself in his hands, appearing before him as a suppliant, in a particular and extraordinary manner.* He took the king's son, who was yet a child, in his arms, and kneeled down before the household gods. This manner of offering a petition, the Molossions look upon as the most effectual, and the only one that can hardly be rejected. Some say the queen, whose name was Phthia, suggested this method of supplication to Themistocles. Others, that Admetus himself taught him to act the part, that he might have a sacred obligation to allege, against giving him up to those that might come to demand him.

At that time Epicrates, the Acarnanian, found means to convey the wife and children of Themistocles out of Athens, and sent them to him; for which Cimon afterwards condemned him and put him to death. This account is given by Stesimbrotus; yet, I know not how, forgetting what he had asserted, or making Themistocles forget it, he tells us he sailed from thence to Sicily, and demanded king Hiero's daughter in marriage, promising to bring the Greeks under his subjection; and that, upon Hiero's refusal, he passed over into Asia. But this is not probable. For Theophrastus, in his treatise on monarchy, relates, that, when Hiero sent his race-horses to the Olympic games, and set up a superb pavilion there, Themistocles harangued the Greeks, to persuade them to pull it down, and not to suffer the tyrant's horses to run. Thucydides writes, that he went by land to the Ægean sea, and embarked at Pydna; that none in the ship knew him, till he was driven by a storm to Naxos, which was at that time besieged by the Athenians; that, through fear of being taken, he then informed the master of the ship, and the pilot, who he was; and that partly by intreaties, partly by threatening he would declare to the Athenians, however falsely, that they knew him from the first, and were bribed to take him into their vessel, he obliged them to weigh anchor and sail for Asia.

* It was nothing particular for a suppliant to do homage to the household gods of the person to whom he had a request; but to do it with the king's son in his arms was an extraordinary circumstance.

The greatest part of his treasures was privately sent after him to Asia by his friends. What was discovered and seized for the public use, Theopompus says, amounted to an hundred talents, Theophrastus fourscore; though he was not worth three talents before his employment in the government.*

When he was landed at Cuma, he understood that a number of people, particularly Ergoteles and Pythodorus, were watching to take him. He was, indeed, a rich booty to those that were determined to get money by any means whatever; for the king of Persia had offered by proclamation two hundred talents for apprehending him.† He, therefore, retired to Ægæ, a little town of the Æolians, where he was known to nobody but Nicogenes, his host, who was a man of great wealth, and had some interest at the Persian court. In his house he was concealed a few days; and, one evening after supper, when the sacrifice was offered, Olbius, tutor to Nicogene's children, cried out, as in a rapture of inspiration,

Counsel, O Night, and victory are thine.

After this, Themistocles went to bed, and dreamed he saw a dragon coiled round his body, and creeping up to his neck; which, as soon as it touched his face, was turned into an eagle, and, covering him with his wings, took him up and carried him to a distant place, where a golden sceptre appeared to him, upon which he rested securely, and was delivered from all his fear and trouble.

In consequence of this warning, he was sent away by Nicogenes, who contrived this method for it. The barbarians in general, especially the Persians, are jealous of the women even to madness; not only of their wives, but their slaves and concubines; for, beside the care they take that they shall be seen by none but their own fa-

* This is totally inconsistent with that splendour in which, according to Plutarch's own account, he lived, before he had any public appointments.

† The resentment of Xerxes is not at all to be wondered at, since Themistocles had not only beaten him in the battle of Salamis, but, what was more disgraceful still, had made him a dupe to his designing persuasions and representations. In the loss of victory, he had some consolation, as he was not himself the immediate cause of it, but for his ridiculous return to Asia, his anger could only fall upon himself and Themistocles.

mily, they keep them like prisoners in their houses; and when they take a journey, they are put in a carriage close covered on all sides. In such a carriage as this Themistocles was conveyed, the attendants being instructed to tell those they met, if they happened to be questioned, that they were carrying a Grecian lady from Ionia to a nobleman at court.

Thucydides, and Charon of Lampsacus, relate, that Xerxes was then dead, and that it was to his son* Artaxerxes that Themistocles addressed himself. But Ephorus, Dinon, Clitarchus, Heraclides, and several others, write, that Xerxes himself was then upon the throne.... The opinion of Thucydides seems most agreeable to chronology, though it is not perfectly well settled. Themistocles, now ready for the dangerous experiment, applied first to Artabanus,† a military officer, and told him, "He was a Greek, who desired to have audience of the king about matters of great importance, which the king himself had much at heart." Artabanus answered, "The laws of men are different; some esteem one thing honourable, and some another; but it becomes all men to honour and observe the customs of their own country. With you the thing most admired, is said to be liberty and equality. We have many excellent laws; and we regard it as one of the most indispensable, to honour the king, and to adore him as the image of that deity who preserves and supports the universe. If, therefore, you are willing to conform to our customs, and to prostrate yourself before the king, you may be permitted to see him and speak to him. But if you cannot bring yourself to this, you must acquaint him with your business by a third person. It would be an infringement of the custom of his country, for the king to admit any one to audience that does not worship him." To this Themistocles replied, "My business, Artabanus, is to add to the king's honour and power; therefore I will comply with your customs, since the god that has exalted the Persians, will have it so; and by my means the number of the

* Themistocles, therefore, arrived at the Persian court in the first year of the 79th Olympiad, 462 years before the birth of Christ; for that was the first year of Artaxerxes's reign.

† Son of that Artabanus, captain of the guards, who slew Xerxes, and persuaded Artaxerxes to cut off his elder brother Darius.

king's worshippers shall be increased. So let this be no hinderance to my communicating to the king what I have to say." "But who," said Artabanus, "shall we say you are? for by your discourse you appear to be no ordinary person." Themistocles answered, "Nobody must know that before the king himself." So Phanias writes; and Eratosthenes, in his treatise on riches, adds, that Themistocles was brought acquainted with Artabanus, and recommended to him by an Eretrian woman, who belonged to that officer.

When he was introduced to the king, and, after his prostration, stood silent, the king commanded the interpreter to ask him who he was. The interpreter accordingly put the question, and he answered, "The man that is now come to address himself to you, O king, is Themistocles the Athenian; an exile persecuted by the Greeks. The Persians have suffered much by me, but it has been more than compensated by my preventing your being pursued; when after I had delivered Greece, and saved my own country, I had it in my power to do you also a service. My sentiments are suitable to my present misfortunes, and I come prepared either to receive your favour, if you are reconciled to me, or, if you retain any resentment, to disarm it by my submission. Reject not the testimony my enemies have given to the services I have done the Persians, and make use of the opportunity my misfortunes afford you, rather to shew your generosity, than to satisfy your revenge. If you save me, you save your suppliant; if you destroy me, you destroy the enemy of Greece."* In hopes of influencing the king by an argument drawn from religion, Themistocles added to this speech an account of the vision he had in Nicogenes's house, and an oracle of Jupiter of Dodona, which ordered him *to go to one who bore the same name with the god*; from which he concluded he was sent to him, since both were called, and really were, *great kings*.

The king gave him no answer, though he admired his courage and magnanimity; but, with his friends, he felicitated himself upon this, as the most fortunate event imaginable. We are told also, that he prayed to *Arima-*

* How extremely abject and contemptible is this petition, wherein the suppliant founds every argument in his favour upon his *vices*!

nius,* that his enemies might ever be so infatuated, as to drive from amongst them their ablest men; that he offered sacrifice to the gods, and immediately after made a great entertainment; nay, that he was so affected with joy, that when he retired to rest, in the midst of his sleep, he called out three times, *I have Themistocles the Athenian.*

As soon as it was day, he called together his friends, and ordered Themistocles to be brought before him. The exile expected no favour, when he found that the guards, at the first hearing of his name, treated him with rancour, and loaded him with reproaches. Nay, when the king had taken his seat, and a respectful silence ensued, Roxanes, one of his officers, as Themistocles passed him, whispered him with a sigh, *Ah! thou subtle serpent of Greece, the king's good genius has brought thee thither.* However, when he had prostrated himself twice in the presence, the king saluted him, and spoke to him graciously, telling him, "He owed him two hundred talents; for, as he had delivered himself up, it was but just that he should receive the reward offered to any one that should bring him." He promised him much more, assured him of his protection, and ordered him to declare freely whatever he had to propose concerning Greece. Themistocles replied, "That a man's discourse was like a piece of tapestry,† which, when spread open, displays its figures; but when it is folded up, they are hidden and lost; therefore he begged time." The king, delighted with the comparison, bade him take what time he pleased; and he desired a year: in which space he learned the Persian language, so as to be able to converse with the king without an interpreter.

Such as did not belong to the court, believed that he entertained their prince on the subject of the Grecian affairs; but as there were then many changes in the ministry, he incurred the envy of the nobility, who suspected that he had presumed to speak too freely of them to the king. The honours that were paid him were far superior to those that other strangers had experienced; the king took him with him a hunting, conversed familiarly

* The god of darkness, the supposed author of plagues and calamities, was called *Ahriman* or *Arimanius*.

† In this he artfully conformed to the figurative manner of speaking in use among the eastern nations.

with him in his palace, and introduced him to the queen-mother, who honoured him with her confidence. He likewise gave orders for his being instructed in the learning of the *Magi*.

Demaratus, the Lacedæmonian, who was then at court, being ordered to ask a favour, desired that he might be carried through Sardis in royal state,* with a diadem upon his head. But Mithropaustes, the king's cousin-german, took him by the hand, and said, *Demaratus, this diadem does not carry brains along with it to cover; nor would you be* Jupiter, *though you should take hold of his thunder.* The king was highly displeased at Demaratus for making this request, and seemed determined never to forgive him; yet, at the desire of Themistocles, he was persuaded to be reconciled to him. And in the following reigns, when the affairs of Persia and Greece were more closely connected, as oft as the kings requested a favour of any Grecian captain, they are said to have promised him, in express terms, *That he should be a greater man at their court than Themistocles had been.* Nay, we are told, that Themistocles himself, in the midst of his greatness, and the extraordinary respect that was paid him, seeing his table most elegantly spread, turned to his children, and said, *Children, we should have been undone, had it not been for our undoing.* Most authors agree, that he had three cities given him, for bread, wine, and meat, Magnesia, Lampsacus, and Myus.† Neanthes of Cyzicus, and

* This was the highest mark of honour which the Persian kings could give. Ahasuerus, the same with Xerxes, the father of this Artaxerxes, had not long before ordained that Mordecai should be honoured in that manner.

† The country about Magnesia was so fertile, that it brought Themistocles a revenue of fifty talents; Lampsacus had in its neighbourhood the noblest vineyards of the east; and Myus or Myon abounded in provisions, particularly in fish. It was usual with the eastern monarchs, instead of pensions to their favourites, to assign them cities and provinces. Even such provinces as the kings retained the revenue of, were under particular assignments; one province furnishing so much for wine, another for victuals, a third for the privy purse, and a fourth for the wardrobe. One of the queens had all Egypt for her cloathing; and Plato tells us (1. Alcibiad.) that many of the provinces were appropriated for the queen's wardrobe; one for her girdle, another for her head-dress, and so of the rest; and each province bore the name of that part of the dress it was to furnish.

Phanias, add two more, Percote and Palæscepsis, for his chamber and his wardrobe.

Some business relative to Greece having brought him to the sea-coast, a Persian named Epixyes, governor of Upper Phrygia, who had a design upon his life, and had long prepared certain Pisidians to kill him, when he should lodge in a city called Leontocephalus, or *Lion's Head*, now determined to put it in execution. But, as he lay sleeping one day at noon, the mother of the gods is said to have appeared to him in a dream, and thus to have addressed him: "Beware, Themistocles, of the Lion's Head, lest the Lion crush you. For this warning I require of you Mnesiptolema for my servant." Themistocles awoke in great disorder, and when he had devoutly returned thanks to the goddess, left the high-road, and took another way, to avoid the place of danger. At night he took up his lodging beyond it; but as one of the horses that had carried his tent had fallen into a river, and his servants were busied in spreading the wet hangings to dry, the Pisidians, who were advancing with their swords drawn, saw these hangings indistinctly by moon-light, and taking them for the tent of Themistocles, expected to find him reposing himself within. They approached, therefore, and lifted up the hangings; but the servants that had the care of them, fell upon them and took them. The danger thus avoided, Themistocles admiring the goodness of the goddess that appeared to him, built a temple in Magnesia, which he dedicated to Cybele *Dindymene* and appointed his daughter Mnesiptolema priestess of it.

When he was come to Sardis, he diverted himself with looking upon the ornaments of the temples; and among the great number of offerings, he found in the temple of Cybele a female figure of brass, two cubits high, called *Hydrophorus*, or, the *water-bearer*, which he himself, when surveyor of the aqueducts at Athens, had caused to be made and dedicated out of the fines of such as had stolen the water, or diverted the stream. Whether it was that he was moved at seeing this statue in a strange country, or that he was desirous to show the Athenians how much he was honoured,* and what power he had all

* It is not improbable that this proceeded from a principle of vanity. The love of admiration was the ruling passion of Themistocles, and discovers itself uniformly through his whole conduct....There might, however, be another reason which Plutarch

over the king's dominions, he addressed himself to the governor of Lydia, and begged leave to send back the statue to Athens. The barbarian immediately took fire, and said, he would certainly acquaint the king what sort of a request he had made him. Themistocles, alarmed at this menace, applied to the governor's women, and, by money, prevailed upon them to pacify him. After this, he behaved with more prudence, sensible how much he had to fear from the envy of the Persians. Hence, he did not travel about Asia, as Theopompus says, but took up his abode at Magnesia, where, loaded with valuable presents, and equally honoured with the Persian nobles, he long lived in great security; for the king, who was engaged in the affairs of the upper provinces, gave but little attention to the concerns of Greece.

But when Egypt revolted, and was supported in that revolt by the Athenians, when the Grecian fleet sailed as far as Cyprus and Cilicia, and Cimon rode triumphant master of the seas, then the king of Persia applied himself to oppose the Greeks, and to prevent the growth of their power. He put his forces in motion, sent out his generals, and dispatched messengers to Themistocles at Magnesia, to command him to perform his promises, and exert himself against Greece. Did he not obey the summons then?...No....neither resentment against the Athenians, nor the honours and authority in which he now flourished, could prevail upon him to take the direction of the expedition. Possibly he might doubt the event of the war, as Greece had then several great generals; and Cimon in particular was distinguished with extraordinary success. Above all, regard for his own atchievements, and the trophies he had gained, whose glory he was unwilling to tarnish, determined him (as the best method he could take) to put such an end to his life as became his dignity.* Having, therefore, sacrificed

has not mentioned. Themistocles was an excellent manager in political religion... He had lately been eminently distinguished by the favour of Cybele. He finds an Athenian statue in her temple.... The goddess consents that he should send it to Athens; and the Athenians, out of respect to the goddess, must of course cease to persecute her favourite Themistocles.

* Thucydides, who was cotemporary with Themistocles, only says, *He died of a distemper; but some report that he poisoned himself, seeing it impossible to accomplish what he had promised the king.* THUCYDID. de Bell. Pelopon. l. i.

crificed to the gods, assembled his friends, and taken his last leave, he drank bull's blood,* as is generally reported; or, as some relate it, he took a quick poison, and ended his days at Magnesia, having lived sixty-five years, most of which he had spent in civil or military employments. When the king was acquainted with the cause and manner of his death, he admired him more than ever, and continued his favour and bounty to his friends and relations.†

Themistocles had by Archippe, the daughter of Lysander of Alopece, five sons, Neocles, Diocles, Archeptolis, Polyeuctes, and Cleophantus. The three last survived him. Plato takes notice of Cleophantus as an excellent horseman, but a man of no merit in other respects. Neocles, his eldest son, died when a child, by the bite of a horse; and Diocles was adopted by his grandfather Lysander. He had several daughters; namely, Mnesiptolema, by a second wife, who was married to Archeptolis, her half brother; Italia, whose husband was Panthides of Chios; Sibaris, married to Nicomedes the Athenian; and Nicomache, at Magnesia, to Phrasicles, the nephew of Themistocles, who after her father's death, took a voyage for that purpose, received her at the hands of her brothers, and brought up her sister Asia, the youngest of the children.

The Magnesians erected a very handsome monument to him, which still remains in the market-place. No credit is to be given to Andocides, who writes to his friends, that the Athenians stole his ashes out of the tomb, and scattered them in the air; for it is an artifice of his to exasperate the nobility against the people. Phylarchus, too, more like a writer of tragedy than an historian, availing himself of what may be called a piece of machinery, introduces Neocles and Demopolis, as the sons

* Whilst they were sacrificing the bull, he caused the blood to be received in a cup, and drank it whilst it was warm, which (according to Pliny) is mortal, because it coagulates or thickens in an instant.

† There is, in our opinion, more true heroism in the death of Themistocles than in the death of Cato. It is something enthusiastically great when a man determines not to survive his liberty; but it is something still greater, when he refuses to survive his honour.

of Themistocles, to make his story more interesting and pathetic. But a very moderate degree of sagacity may discover it to be a fiction. Yet Diodorus the geographer writes, in his treatise of sepulchres, but rather by conjecture than certain knowledge, that, near the harbour of Piræus, from the promontory of Alcimus,* the land makes an elbow, and when you have doubled it inwards, by the still water, there is a vast foundation, upon which stands the tomb of Themistocles,† in the form of an altar. With him Plato, the comic writer, is supposed to agree in the following lines:

> Oft as the merchant speeds the passing sail,
> Thy tomb, Themistocles, he stops to hail:
> When hostile ships in martial combat meet,
> Thy shade attending, hovers o'er the fleet.

Various honours and privileges were granted by the Magnesians to the descendants of Themistocles, which continued down to our times; for they were enjoyed by one of his name, an Athenian, with whom I had a particular acquaintance and friendship in the house of Ammonius the philosopher.

* Meursius rightly corrects it *Alimus*. We find no place in Attica called *Alcimus*, but a borough named Alimus there was, on the east of the Piræus.

† Thuycidides says, that the bones of Themistocles, by his own command, were privately carried back into Attica, and buried there. But Pausanias agrees with Theodorus, that the Athenians repenting of their ill usage of this great man, honoured him with a tomb in the Piræus.

It does not appear, indeed, that Themistocles when banished, had any design either to revenge himself on Athens, or to take refuge in the court of the king of Persia. The Greeks themselves forced him upon this, or rather the Lacedæmonians; for as by their intrigues his countrymen were induced to banish him, so by their importunities after he was banished, he was not suffered to enjoy any refuge in quiet.

CAMILLUS.

AMONG the many remarkable things related of Furius Camillus, the most extraordinary seems to be this, that though he was often in the highest commands, and performed the greatest actions, though he was five times chosen dictator, though he triumphed four times, and was styled the *second founder of Rome*, yet he was never once consul. Perhaps we may discover the reason in the state of the commonwealth at that time: the people then at variance with the senate,* refused to elect consuls, and, instead of them put the government in the hands of *military tribunes*. Though these acted, indeed, with consular power and authority, yet their administration was less grievous to the people, because they were more in number. To have the direction of affairs entrusted to six persons instead of two, was some ease and satisfaction to a people that could not bear to be dictated to by the nobility. Camillus, then distinguished by his atchievements and at the height of glory, did not choose to be consul against the inclinations of the people, though the *comitia*, or assemblies in which they might have elected consuls, were several times held in that period. In all his other commissions, which were many and various, he so conducted himself, that if he was entrusted with the sole power, he shared it with others, and if he had a colleague, the glory was his own. The authority seemed to be shared by reason of his great modesty in command, which gave no occasion to envy; and the glory was secured to him by his genius and capacity, in which he was universally allowed to have no equal.

The family of the Furii† was not very illustrious before his time; he was the first that raised it to distinction,

* The old quarrel about the distribution of lands was revived, the people insisting that every citizen should have an equal share. The senate met frequently to disconcert the proposal; and at last Appius Claudius moved, that some of the college of the tribunes of the people should be gained, as the only remedy against the tyranny of that body: which was accordingly put in execution. The commons, thus disappointed, chose military tribunes, instead of consuls, and sometimes had them all plebeians. Liv. l. iv. c. 48.

† *Furius* was the family name. *Camillus*, (as has been already ob-

when he served under Posthumius Tabertus in the great battle with the Equi and Volsci.* In that action, spurring his horse before the ranks, he received a wound in the thigh, when instead of retiring, he plucked the javelin out of the wound, engaged with the bravest of the enemy, and put them to flight. For this, among other honours, he was appointed censor, an office at that time of great dignity.† There is upon record a very laudable act of his, that took place during his office. As the wars had made many widows, he obliged such of the men as lived single, partly by persuasion, and partly by threatening them with fines, to marry those widows. Another act of his, which indeed was absolutely necessary, was, the causing orphans, who before were exempt from taxes, to contribute to the supplies: for these were very large by reason of the continual wars. What was then most urgent was the siege of Veii, whose inhabitants some call Venetani. This city was the barrier of Tuscany, and in the quantity of her arms and number of her military, not inferior to Rome. Proud of her wealth, her elegance and luxury, she had maintained with the Romans many long and gallant disputes for glory and for power. But humbled by many signal defeats, the Veientes had then bid adieu to that ambition; they satisfied themselves with building strong and high walls, and filling the city with provisions, arms, and all kinds of warlike stores; and so they waited for the enemy without fear. The siege was

served) was an appellation of children of quality who ministered in the temple of some god. Our Camillus was the first who retained it as a surname.

* This was in the year of Rome 324, when Camillus might be about fourteen or fifteen years of age, (for in the year of Rome 389 he was near fourscore) though the Roman youth did not use to bear arms sooner than seventeen. And though Plutarch says that his gallant behaviour at that time procured him the censorship, yet that was an office which the Romans never conferred upon a young person; and in fact, Camillus was not censor till the year of Rome 353.

† The authority of the censors, in the time of the republic, was very extensive. They had power to expel senators the house, to degrade the knights, and to disable the commons from giving their votes in the assemblies of the people. But the emperors took the office upon themselves; and, as many of them abused it, it lost its honour, and sometimes the very title was laid aside. As to what Plutarch says, that Camillus, when censor, obliged many of the bachelors to marry the widows of those who had fallen in the wars; that was in pursuance of one of the powers of his office.....*Cœlibes esse prohibento.*

long, but no less laborious and troublesome to the besiegers than to *them*. For the Romans had long been accustomed to summer campaigns only, and to winter at home ; and then for the first time their officers ordered them to construct forts, to raise strong works about their camp, and to pass the winter as well as summer in the enemy's country.

The seventh year of the war was now almost past, when the generals began to be blamed ; and as it was thought they shewed not sufficient vigour in the siege,* they were superceded, and others put in their room ; among whom was Camillus, then appointed *tribune* the second time.† He was not, however, at present concerned in the siege, for it fell to his lot to head the expedition against the Falisci and Capenates, who, while the Romans were otherwise employed, committed great depredations in their country, and harrassed them during the whole Tuscan war. But Camillus falling upon them, killed great numbers, and shut up the rest within their walls.

During the heat of the war, a phænomenon appeared in the Alban lake, which might be reckoned amongst the strangest prodigies ; and as no common or natural cause could be assigned for it, it occasioned great consternation. The summer was now declining, and the season by no means rainy, nor remarkable for south winds. Of the many springs, brooks, and lakes, which Italy abounds with, some were dried up, and others but feebly resisted the drought ; the rivers, always low in the summer, then ran with a very slender stream. But the Alban lake, which has its source within itself, and discharges no part of its water, being quite surrounded with mountains, without any cause, unless it was a supernatural one, began to rise

* Of the six military tribunes of that year, only two, L. Virginius and Manius Sergius, carried on the siege of Veii. Sergius commanded the attack, and Virginius covered the siege. While the army was thus divided, the Falisci and Capenates fell upon Sergius, and, at the same time, the besieged sallying out, attacked him on the other side. The Romans under his command, thinking they had all the forces of Hetruria to deal with, began to lose courage, and retire. Virginius could have saved his colleague's troops, but as Sergius was too proud to send to him for succour, he resolved not to give him any. The enemy, therefore, made a dreadful slaughter of the Romans in their lines Liv. lib. v. c. 8.

† The year of Rome 357.

and swell in a most remarkable manner, increasing till it reached the sides, and at last the very tops of the hills, all which happened without any agitation of its waters. For a while it was the wonder of the shepherds and herdsmen: but when the earth, which like a mole, kept it from overflowing the country below, was broken down with the quantity and weight of water, then descending like a torrent through the ploughed fields and other cultivated grounds to the sea, it not only astonished the Romans, but was thought by all Italy to portend some extraordinary event. It was the great subject of conversation in the camp before Veii, so that it came at last to be known to the besieged.

As in the course of long sieges there is usually some conversation with the enemy, it happened that a Roman soldier formed an acquaintance with one of the townsmen, a man versed in ancient traditions, and supposed to be more than ordinarily skilled in divination. The Roman, perceiving that he expressed great satisfaction at the story of the lake, and thereupon laughed at the siege, told him, "This was not the only wonder the times had produced, but other prodigies still stranger than this had happened to the Romans; which he should be glad to communicate to him, if by that means he could provide for his own safety in the midst of the public ruin." The man readily hearkening to the proposal, came out to him, expecting to hear some secret, and the Roman continued the discourse, drawing him forward by degrees, till they were at some distance from the gates. Then he snatched him up in his arms, and by his superior strength held him, till, with the assistance of several soldiers from the camp, he was secured and carried before the generals. The man, reduced to this necessity, and knowing that destiny cannot be avoided, declared the secret oracles concerning his own country, "That the city could never be taken, till the waters of the Alban lake, which had now forsook their bed, and found new passages, were turned back, and so diverted, as to prevent their mixing with the sea."*

The senate, informed of this prediction, and deliberating about it, were of opinion, it would be best to send to Delphi to consult the oracle. They chose for this purpose

* The phrophecy, according to Livy, (l. v. c. 15.) was this, *Veii shall never be taken till all the water is run out of the lake of Alba.*

three persons of honour and distinction, Licinius Cossus, Valerius Potitus, and Fabius Ambustus; who, having had a prosperous voyage, and consulted Apollo, returned with this among other answers, "That they had neglected some ceremonies in the Latin feasts."* As to the water of the Alban lake, they were ordered, if possible, to shut it up in its ancient bed; or, if that could not be effected, to dig canals and trenches for it, till it lost itself on the land. Agreeably to this direction, the priests were employed in offering sacrifices, and the people in labour, to turn the course of the water.†

In the tenth year of the siege, the senate removed the other magistrates, and appointed Camillus dictator, who made choice of Cornelius Scipio for his general of horse. In the first place he made vows to the gods, if they favoured him with putting a glorious period to the war, to celebrate the great Circensian games to their honour,‡ and to consecrate the temple of the goddess, whom the Romans call *the mother matuta*. By her sacred rites we may suppose this last to be the goddess Leucothea. For they take a female slave into the inner part of the temple,‖ where they beat her, and then drive her out; they carry their brother's children in their arms instead of their own;§ and they represent in the ceremonies of the sacrifice all that happened to the nurses of Bacchus, and what Ino suffered for having saved the son of Juno's rival.

After these vows, Camillus penetrated into the country of the Falisci, and in a great battle overthrew them and their auxiliaries the Capenates. Then he turned to the siege of Veii; and perceiving it would be both difficult and dangerous to endeavour to take it by assault, he ordered mines to be dug, the soil about the city being easy to work, and admitting of depth enough for the

* These feasts were instituted by Tarquin the Proud. The Romans presided in them; but all the people of Latium were to attend them, and to partake of a bull then sacrificed to Jupiter Latialis.

† This wonderful work subsists to this day, and the waters of the lake Albano run through it.

‡ These were a kind of tournament in the great *circus*.

‖ Leucothoe or Ino was jealous of one of her female slaves, who was the favourite of her husband Athamas.

§ Ino was a very unhappy mother; for she had seen her son Learchus slain by her husband, whereupon she threw herself into the sea with her other son Melicertes. But she was a more fortunate aunt, having preserved Bacchus the son of her sister Semele.

works to be carried on unseen by the enemy. As this succeeded to his wish, he made an assault without, to call the enemy to the walls; and in the mean time, others of his soldiers made their way through the mines, and secretly penetrated to Juno's temple in the citadel. This was the most considerable temple in the city; and we are told, that at that instant the Tuscan general happened to be sacrificing; when the soothsayer, upon inspection of the entrails, cried out, "The gods promise victory to him that shall finish this sacrifice;"* the Romans, who were under ground, hearing what he said, immediately removed the pavement, and came out with loud shouts and clashing their arms, which struck the enemy with such terror, that they fled, and left the entrails, which were carried to Camillus. But perhaps this has more of the air of fable than of history.

The city thus taken by the Romans sword in hand, while they were busy in plundering it and carrying off its immense riches, Camillus beholding from the citadel what was done, at first burst into tears: and when those about him began to magnify his happiness, he lifted up his hands towards heaven, and uttered this prayer:.... "Great Jupiter, and ye gods that have the inspection of our good and evil actions, ye know that the Romans, not without just cause, but in their own defence, and constrained by necessity, have made war against this city, and their enemies its unjust inhabitants. If we must have some misfortune in lieu of this success, I intreat that it may fall, not upon Rome or the Roman army, but upon myself: yet lay not, ye gods, a heavy hand upon me!"† Having pronounced these words, he turned to

* Words spoken by persons unconcerned in their affairs, and upon a quite different subject, were interpreted by the Heathens as good or bad omens, if they happened to be any way applicable to their case. And they took great pains to fulfil the omen, if they thought it fortunate; as well as to evade it, if it appeared unlucky.

† Livy, who has given us this prayer, has not qualified it with that modification so unworthy of Camillus, εις εμαυτον ελαχιστο το κακω τελευτησαι, *may it be with as little detriment as possible to myself!* On the contrary, he says, *ut eam invidiam lenire suo privato incommodo, quam minimo publico populi Romani liceret.* Camillus prayed, that, *if this success must have an equivalent in some ensuing misfortune, that misfortune might fall upon himself, and the Roman people escape with as little detriment as possible.* This was great and heroic. Plutarch, having but an imperfect knowledge of the Roman language, probably mistook the sense.

the right, as the manner of the Romans is after prayer and supplication, but fell in turning. His friends that were by, expressed great uneasiness at the accident, but he soon recovered himself from the fall, and told them, "It was only a small inconvenience after great success, agreeable to his prayer."*

After the city was pillaged, he determined, pursuant to his vow, to remove this statue of Juno to Rome. The workmen were assembled for the purpose, and he offered sacrifice to the goddess, "Beseeching her to accept of their homage, and graciously to take up her abode among the gods of Rome." To which it is said the statue softly answered, "She was willing and ready to do it." But Livy says, Camillus, in offering up his petition, touched the image of the goddess, and intreated her to go with them, and that some of the standers-by answered, "She consented, and would willingly follow them." Those that support and defend the miracle, have the fortune of Rome on their side, which could never have risen from such small and contemptible beginnings to that height of glory and empire, without the constant assistance of some god, who favoured them with many considerable tokens of his presence. Several miracles of a similar nature are also alleged; as, that images have often sweated; that they have been heard to groan; and that sometimes they have turned from their votaries, and shut their eyes. Many such accounts we have from our ancients: and not a few persons of our own times have given us wonderful relations, not unworthy of notice.... But to give entire credit to them, or altogether to disbelieve them, is equally dangerous, on account of human weakness. We keep not always within the bounds of reason, nor are masters of our minds! sometimes we fall into vain superstition, and sometimes into an impious neglect of all religion. It is best to be cautious and to avoid extremes.†

Whether it was that Camillus was elated with his great exploit in taking a city that was the rival of Rome, after

* This is a continuation of the former mistake. Livy tells us, it was conjectured from the event, that this fall of Camillus was a presage of his condemnation and banishment.

† The great Mr. Addison seems to have had this passage of Plutarch in his eye, when he delivered his opinion concerning the doctrine of witches.

it had been besieged ten years, or that he was misled by his flatterers, he took upon him too much state for a magistrate subject to the laws and usages of his country: for his triumph was conducted with excessive pomp, and he rode through Rome in a chariot drawn by four white horses, which no general ever did before or after him.... Indeed, this sort of carriage is esteemed sacred, and is appropriated to the king and father of the gods.* The citizens, therefore, considered this unusual appearance of grandeur as an insult upon them. Besides, they were offended at his opposing the law by which the city was to be divided. For their tribunes had proposed that the senate and people should be divided into two equal parts; one part to remain at Rome, and the other, as the lot happened to fall, to remove to the conquered city, by which means they would not only have more room, but by being in possession of two considerable cities, be better able to defend their territories and to watch over their prosperity. The people, who were very numerous, and enriched by the late plunder, constantly assembled in the *forum*, and in a tumultuous manner demanded to have it put to the vote. But the senate and other principal citizens considered this proposal of the tribunes, not so much the dividing as the destroying of Rome,† and in their uneasiness applied to Camillus. Camillus was afraid to put it to the trial, and therefore invented demurs and pretences of delay, to prevent the bill's being offered to the people; by which he incurred their displeasure.

But the greatest and most manifest cause of their hatred was, his behaviour with respect to the tenths of the spoils: and if the resentment of the people was not in this case altogether just, yet it had some shew of reason. It seems he had made a vow, as he marched to Veii, that, if he took the city, he would consecrate the tenths to Apollo. But when the city was taken, and came to be pillaged, he was either unwilling to interrupt his men, or in the hurry had forgot his vow, and so gave up the whole plunder to them. After he had resigned his dictatorship, he laid the case before the senate: and the sooth-

* He likewise coloured his face with vermillion, the colour with which the statues of the gods were commonly painted.

† They feared, that two such cities would, by degrees, become two different states, which, after a destructive war with each other, would at length fall a prey to their common enemies.

sayers declared, that the sacrifices announced the anger of the gods, which ought to be appeased by offerings expressive of their gratitude for the favours they had received. The senate then made a decree, that the plunder should remain with the soldiers (for they knew not how to manage it otherwise); but that each should produce upon oath, the tenth of the value of what he had got.... This was a great hardship upon the soldiers; and those poor fellows could not without force be brought to refund so large a portion of the fruit of their labours, and to make good not only what they had hardly earned, but now actually spent. Camillus, distressed with their complaints, for want of a better excuse, made use of a very absurd apology, by acknowledging he had forgotten his vow. This they greatly resented, that having then vowed the tenths of the enemy's goods, he should now exact the tenths of the citizens, However, they all produced their proportion, and it was resolved that a vase of massy gold should be made and sent to Delphi. But as there was a scarcity of gold in the city, while the magistrates were considering how to procure it, the Roman matrons met, and having consulted among themselves, gave up their golden ornaments, which weighed eight talents, as an offering to the god. And the senate in honour of their piety, decreed that they should have funeral orations as well as the men, which had not been the custom before.* They then sent three of the chief of the nobility ambassadors, in a large ship well manned and fitted out in a manner becoming so solemn an occasion.

In this voyage, they were equally endangered by a storm and a calm, but escaped beyond all expectation, when on the brink of destruction. For the wind slackening near the Æolian islands, the galleys of the Lipareans gave them chase as pirates. Upon their stretching out their hands for mercy, the Lipareans used no violence to their persons, but towed the ship into harbour, and there

* The matrons had the value of the gold paid them: and it was not on this occasion, but afterwards, when they contributed their golden ornaments to make up the sum demanded by the Gauls, that funeral orations were granted them. The privilege they were now favoured with, was leave to ride in chariots at the public games and sacrifices, and in open carriages, of a less honourable sort, on other occasions, in the streets.

exposed both them and their goods to sale, having first adjudged them to be lawful prize. With much difficulty, however, they were prevailed upon to release them, out of regard to the merit and authority of Timesitheus the chief magistrate of the place; who, moreover, conveyed them with his own vessels, and assisted in dedicating the gift. For this, suitable honours were paid him at Rome.

And now the *tribunes of the people* attempted to bring the law for removing part of the citizens to Veii once more upon the carpet: but the war with the Falisci very seasonably intervening, put the management of the elections in the hands of the patricians; and they nominated Camillus a *military tribune*,* together with five others; as affairs then required a general of considerable dignity, reputation, and experience. When the people had confirmed this nomination, Camillus marched his forces into the country of the Falisci, and laid siege to Falerii, a city well fortified, and provided in all respects for the war. He was sensible it was like to be no easy affair, nor soon to be dispatched, and this was one reason for his engaging in it; for he was desirous to keep the citizens employed abroad, that they might not have leisure to sit down at home and raise tumults and seditions. This was indeed a remedy which the Romans always had recourse to, like good physicians, to expel dangerous humours from the body politic.

The Falerians, trusting to the fortifications with which they were surrounded, made so little account of the siege, that the inhabitants, except those who guarded the walls, walked the streets in their common habits. The boys too went to school, and the master took them out to walk and exercise about the walls. For the Falerians, like the Greeks, chose to have their children bred at one public school, that they might betimes be accustomed to the same discipline, and form themselves to friendship and society.

This schoolmaster, then, designing to betray the Falerians by means of their children, took them every day out of the city to exercise, keeping pretty close to the walls at first, and when their exercise was over led them in again. By degrees he took them out farther, accustoming them to divert themselves freely, as if they had nothing

* The year of Rome 361. Camillus was then military tribune the third time.

to fear. At last, having got them altogether, he brought them to the Roman advanced guard, and delivered them up to be carried to Camillus. When he came into his presence, he said, "He was the schoolmaster of Falerii, but preferring his favour to the obligations of duty, he came to deliver up those children to him, and in them the whole city." This action appeared very shocking to Camillus, and he said to those that were by, "War (at best) is a savage thing, and wades through a sea of violence and injustice; yet even war itself has its laws, which men of honour will not depart from; nor do they so pursue victory, as to avail themselves of acts of villainy and baseness. For a great general should rely only on his own virtue, and not upon the treachery of others." Then he ordered the *lictors* to tear off the wretch's clothes, to tie his hands behind him, and to furnish the boys with rods and scourges, to punish the traitor, and whip him into the city. By this means the Falerians had discovered the schoolmaster's treason; the city, as might be expected, was full of lamentations for so great a loss, and the principal inhabitants, both men and women, crowded about the walls and the gate like persons distracted. In the midst of this disorder they espied the boys whipping on their master, naked and bound; and calling Camillus "their god, their deliverer, their father." Not only the parents of those children, but all the citizens in general were struck with admiration at the spectacle, and conceived such an affection for the justice of Camillus, that they immediately assembled in council, and sent deputies to surrender to him both themselves and their city.

Camillus sent them to Rome: and when they were introduced to the senate, they said, "The Romans, in preferring justice to conquest, have taught us to be satisfied with submission instead of liberty. At the same time we declare we do not think ourselves so much beneath you in strength, as inferior in virtue." The senate referred the disquisition and settling of the articles of peace to Camillus; who contented himself with taking a sum of money of the Falerians, and having entered into alliance with the whole nation of the Falasci, returned to Rome.

But the soldiers, who expected to have had the plundering of Falerii, when they came back empty-handed, accused Camillus to their fellow-citizens as an enemy to the

commons, and one that maliciously opposed the interest of the poor. And when the tribunes again proposed the law for transplanting part of the citizens to Veii,* and summoned the people to give their votes, Camillus spoke very freely, or rather with much asperity against it, appearing remarkably violent in his opposition to the people; who therefore lost their bill, but harboured a strong resentment against Camillus. Even the misfortune he had in his family, of losing one of his sons, did not in the least mitigate their rage; though, as a man of great goodness and tenderness of heart, he was inconsolable for his loss, and shut himself up at home, a close mourner with the women, at the same time that they were lodging an impeachment against him.

His accuser was Lucius Apuleius, who brought against him a charge of fraud with respect to the Tuscan spoils; and it was alleged that certain brass gates, a part of those spoils, were found with him. The people were so much exasperated, that it was plain they would lay hold on any pretext to condemn him. He, therefore, assembled his friends, his colleagues, and fellow-soldiers, a great number in all, and begged of them not to suffer him to be crushed by false and unjust accusations, and exposed to the scorn of his enemies. When they had consulted together, and fully considered the affair, the answer they gave was, that they did not believe it in their power to prevent the sentence, but they would willingly assist him to pay the fine that might be laid upon him. He could not, however, bear the thoughts of so great an indignity, and giving way to his resentment, determined to quit the city as a voluntary exile. Having taken leave of his wife and children, he went in silence from his house to the gate of the city.† There he made a stand, and turning about, stretched out his hands towards the capitol, and prayed to the gods, "That if he was driven out without any

* The patricians carried it against the bill, only by a majority of one tribe. And now they were so well pleased with the people, that the very next morning a decree was passed, assigning six acres of the lands of Veii, not only to every father of a family, but to every single person of free condition. On the other hand, the people, delighted with this liberality, allowed the electing of consuls, instead of military tribunes.

† This was four years after the taking of Falerii.

fault of his own, and merely by the violence or envy of the people, the Romans might quickly repent it, and express to all the world their want of Camillus, and their regret for his absence."

When he had thus, like Achilles, uttered his imprecations against his countrymen, he departed ; and leaving his cause undefended, he was condemned to pay a fine of fifteen thousand *ases ;* which, reduced to Grecian money, is one thousand five hundred *drachmæ* : for the *as* is a small coin that is the tenth part of a piece of silver, which for that reason is called *denarius*, and answers to our *drachma*. There is not a man in Rome who does not believe that these imprecations of Camillus had their effect ; though the punishment of his countrymen for their injustice, proved no ways agreeable to him, but on the contrary matter of grief. Yet how great, how memorable was that punishment! How remarkably did vengeance pursue the Romans ! What danger, destruction, and disgrace, did those times bring upon the city ! whether it was the work of fortune, or whether it is the office of some deity to see that virtue shall not be oppressed by the ungrateful with impunity.*

The first token of the approaching calamities, was the death of Julius the *Censor*.† For the Romans have a particular veneration for the censor, and look upon his office as sacred. A second token happened a little before the exile of Camillus. Marcus Ceditius, a man of no illustrious family indeed, nor of senatorial rank, but a person of great probity and virtue, informed the military tribunes of a matter which deserved great attention. As he was going the night before along what is called the New Road, he said he was addressed in a loud voice. Upon turning about he saw nobody, but heard these words in an accent more than human : " Go, Marcus

* It was the goddess Nemesis whom the Heathens believed to have the office of punishing evil actions in this world, particularly pride and ingratitude.

† The Greek text as it now stands, instead of the *censor* Julius, has the *month* of July ; but that has been owing to the error of some ignorant transcriber. Upon the death of Caius Julius the censor, Marcus Cornelius was appointed to succeed him : but as the censorship of the latter proved unfortunate, ever after, when a censor happened to die in his office, they not only forbore naming another in his place, but obliged his colleague to quit his dignity.

Ceditius, and early in the morning acquaint the magistrates, that they must shortly expect the Gauls." But the tribunes made a jest of the information; and soon after followed the disgrace of Camillus.

The Gauls are of Celtic origin,* and are said to have left their country, which was too small to maintain their vast numbers, to go in search of another. These emigrants consisted of many thousands of young and able warriors, with a still greater number of women and children. Part of them took their route towards the northern ocean, crossed the Rhiphæan mountains, and settled in the extreme parts of Europe; and part established themselves for a long time between the Pyrenees and the Alps, near the Senones and Celtorians.† But happening to taste of wine, which was then for the first time brought out of Italy, they so much admired the liquor, and were so enchanted with this new pleasure, that they snatched up their arms, and taking their parents along with them, marched to the Alps,‡ to seek that country which produced such excellent fruit, and, in comparison of which, they considered all others as barren and ungenial.

The man that first carried wine amongst them, and excited them to invade Italy, is said to have been Aruns, a Tuscan, a man of some distinction, and not naturally disposed to mischief, but led to it by his misfortunes. He was guardian to an orphan named Lucumo,‖ of the greatest fortune in the country, and most celebrated for beauty. Aruns brought him up from a boy, and when grown up, he still continued at his house, upon a pretence of enjoying his conversation. Mean while he had corrupted his

* The ancients called all the inhabitants of the west and north, as far as Scythia, by the common name of Celtæ.

† The country of the Senones contained Sens, Auxerre, and Troyes, as far up as Paris. Who the Celtorii were is not known: probably the word is corrupted.

‡ Livy tells us, Italy was known to the Gauls two hundred years before, though he does indeed mention the story of Aruns. Then he goes on to inform us, that the migrations of the Gauls into Italy and other countries, was occasioned by their numbers being too large for their old settlements; and that the two brothers Beliovesus and Sigovesus casting lots to determine which way they should steer their course, Italy fell to Beliovesus, and Germany to Sigovesus.

‖ *Lucumo* was not the name but the title of the young man. He was Lord of a *Lucumony*. Hetruria was divided into principalities called *Lucumonies*.

guardian's wife, or she had corrupted him, and for a long time the criminal commerce was carried on undiscovered. At length their passion becoming so violent, that they could neither restrain nor conceal it, the young man carried her off, and attempted to keep her openly. The husband endeavoured to find his redress at law, but was disappointed by the superior interest and wealth of Lucumo. He therefore quitted his own country, and having heard of the enterprising spirit of the Gauls, went to them, and conducted their armies into Italy.

In their first expedition they soon possessed themselves of that country which stretches out from the Alps to both seas. That this of old belonged to the Tuscans, the names themselves are a proof: for the sea which lies to the north is called the Adriatic from a Tuscan city named Adria, and that on the other side to the south is called the Tuscan sea. All that country is well planted with trees, has excellent pastures, and is well watered with rivers. It contained eighteen considerable cities, whose manufactures and trade procured them the gratifications of luxury. The Gauls expelled the Tuscans, and made themselves masters of these cities; but this was done long before.

The Gauls were now besieging Clusium, a city of Tuscany. The Clusians applied to the Romans, intreating them to send ambassadors and letters to the barbarians. Accordingly they sent three illustrious persons of the *Fabian* family, who had borne the highest employments in the state. The Gauls received them courteously on account of the name of Rome, and putting a stop to their operations against the town, came to a conference. But when they were asked what injury they had received from the Clusians that they came against their city, Brennus, king of the Gauls, smiled and said, "The injury the Clusians do us, is their keeping to themselves a large tract of ground, when they can only cultivate a small one, and refusing to give up a part of it to us who are strangers, numerous, and poor. In the same manner you Romans were injured formerly by the Albans, the Fidenates, and the Ardeates, and lately by the people of Veii and Capenæ, and the greatest part of the Falisci and the Volsci. Upon these you make war; if they refuse to share with you their goods, you enslave

their persons, lay waste their country and demolish their cities. Nor are your proceedings dishonourable or unjust; for you follow the most ancient of laws, which directs the weak to obey the strong, from the Creator even to the irrational part of the creation, that are taught by nature to make use of the advantage their strength affords them against the feeble. Cease, then to express your compassion for the Clusians, lest you teach the Gauls in their turn to commiserate those that have been oppressed by the Romans.

By this answer the Romans clearly perceived that Brennus would come to no terms; and therefore they went into Clusium, where they encouraged and animated the inhabitants to sally against the barbarians, either to make trial of the strength of the Clusians, or to shew their own. The Clusians made the sally, and a sharp conflict ensued near the walls, when Quintus Ambustus, one of the Fabii, spurred his horse against a Gaul of extraordinary size and figure, who had advanced a good way before the ranks. At first he was not known, because the encounter was hot, and his armour dazzled the eyes of the beholders: but when he had overcome and killed the Gaul, and came to despoil him of his arms, Brennus knew him, and called the gods to witness, "That against all the laws and usages of mankind which were esteemed the most sacred and inviolable, Ambustus came as an ambassador, but acted as an enemy." He drew off his men directly, and bidding the Clusians farewel, led his army towards Rome. But that he might not seem to rejoice that such an affront was offered, or to have wanted a pretext for hostilities, he sent to demand the offender in order to punish him, and in the mean time advanced but slowly.

The herald being arrived, the senate was assembled and many spoke against the Fabii; particularly the priests called *feciales* represented the action as an offence against religion, and adjured the senate to lay the whole guilt and the expiation of it upon the person who alone was to blame, and so avert the wrath of heaven from the rest of the Romans. These *feciales* were appointed by Numa, the mildest and justest of kings, conservators of peace, as well as judges to give sanction to the just causes of war. The senate referred the matter to the people, and the priests accused Fabius with some ardour before

them, but such was the disregard they expressed for their persons, and such their contempt of religion, that they constituted that very Fabius and his brethren *military tribunes*.*

As soon as the Gauls were informed of this, they were greatly enraged, and would no longer delay their march, but hastened forward with the utmost celerity. Their prodigious numbers, their glittering arms, their fury and impetuosity struck terror wherever they came; people gave up their lands for lost, not doubting but the cities would soon follow: however, what was beyond all expectation, they injured no man's property; they neither pillaged the fields nor insulted the cities; and as they passed by, they cried out, "They were going to Rome, they were at war with the Romans only, and considered all others as their friends."

While the barbarians were going forward in this impetuous manner, the tribunes led out their forces to battle, in number not inferior,† (for they consisted of forty thousand foot) but the greatest part undisciplined, and such as had never handled a weapon before. Besides, they paid no attention to religion, having neither propitiated the gods by sacrifice, nor consulted the sooth-sayers as was their duty in time of danger, and before an engagement. Another thing which occasioned no small confusion, was the number of persons joined in the command; whereas before, they had often appointed for wars of less consideration a single leader, whom they call *dictator*, sensible of how great consequence it is to good order and success, at a dangerous crisis, to be actuated as it were with one soul, and to have the absolute command invested in one person. Their ungrateful treatment of Camillus, too, was not the least unhappy circumstance; as it now appeared dangerous for the generals to use their authority without some flattering indulgence to the people.

In this condition they marched out of the city, and encamped about eleven miles from it, on the banks of

* The year of Rome 366; or (according to some Chronologers) 365.

† They were inferior in number; for the Gauls were seventy thousand; and therefore the Romans, when they came to action, were obliged to extend their wings so as to make their centre very thin, which was one reason of their being soon broken.

the river Allia, not far from its confluence with the Tiber. There the barbarians came upon them, and as the Romans engaged in a disorderly manner, they were shamefully beaten and put to flight. Their left wing was soon pushed into the river, and there destroyed. The right wing, which quitted the field to avoid the charge, and gained the hills, did not suffer so much; many of them escaping to Rome. The rest that survived the carnage, when the enemy were satiated with blood, stole by night to Veii, concluding that Rome was lost, and its inhabitants put to the sword.

This battle was fought when the moon was at full, about the summer solstice, the very same day that the slaughter of the Fabii happened long before,* when three hundred of them were cut off by the Tuscans. The second misfortune, however, so much effaced the memory of the first, that the day is still called the *day of* Allia, from the river of that name.

As to the point, whether there be any lucky or unlucky days,† and whether Heraclitus was right in blaming Hesiod for distinguishing them into fortunate or unfortunate, as not knowing that the nature of all days is the same, we have considered it in another place. But on this occasion perhaps it may not be amiss to mention a few examples. The Bœotians, on the fifth of the month which they call *Hippodromius* and the Athenians *Hecatombæon* [July] gained two signal victories, both of which restored liberty to Greece; the one at Leuctra; the other at Geræstus, above two hundred years before,‡ when they defeated Lattamyas and the Thessalians. On the other hand, the Persians were beaten by the Greeks on the sixth

* The sixteenth of July.

† The ancients deemed some days lucky and others unlucky, either from some occult power which they supposed to be in numbers, or from the nature of the deities who presided over them, or else from observation of fortunate or unfortunate events having often happened on particular days.

‡ The Thessalians under the command of Lattamyas were beaten by the Bœotians not long before the battle of Thermopylæ, and little more than one hundred years before the battle of Leuctra. There is also an error here in the name of the place, probably introduced by some blundering transcriber (for Plutarch must have been well acquainted with the names of places in Bœotia.) Instead of Geræstus, we should read Ceressus; the former was a promontory in Eubœa, the latter was a fort in Bœotia.

of *Boedromion* [September] at Marathon, on the third of Platæa, as also Mycale, and on the twenty-sixth at Arbeli. About the full moon of the same month, the Athenians, under the conduct of Chabrias, were victorious in the sea-fight near Naxos, and on the twentieth they gained the victory of Salamis, as we have mentioned in the treatise concerning days. The month *Thargelion* [May] was also remarkably unfortunate to the barbarians: for in that month Alexander defeated the king of Persia's generals near the Granicus; and the Carthaginians were beaten by Timoleon in Sicily on the twenty-fourth of the same; a day still more remarkable (according to Ephorus, Callisthenes, Demaster, and Phylarchus) for the taking of Troy. On the contrary, the month *Metagitnion* [August] which the Bœotians call *Panemus*, was very unlucky to the Greeks; for on the seventh they were beaten by Antipater in the battle of Cranon and utterly ruined, and before that, they were defeated by Philip at Chæronea. And on that same day and month and year, the troops which under Archidamus made a descent upon Italy, were cut to pieces by the barbarians. The Carthaginians have set a mark upon the twenty-second of that month, as a day that has always brought upon them the greatest of calamities. At the same time, I am not ignorant that about the time of the celebration of the *mysteries*, Thebes was demolished by Alexander; and after that, on the same twentieth of *Boedromion* [September] a day sacred to the solemnities of Bacchus, the Athenians were obliged to receive a Macedonian garrison. On one and the same day the Romans under the command of Cæpio, were stripped of their camp by the Cimbri, and afterwards under Lucullus conquered Tigranes, and the Armenians. King Attalus and Pompey the Great, both died on their birth days. And I could give account of many others who, on the same day, at different periods, have experienced both good and bad fortune. Be that as it may, the Romans marked the day of their defeat at Allia as unfortunate; and as superstitious fears generally increase upon a misfortune, they not only distinguished that as such, but the two next that follow it in every month throughout the year.

If after so decisive a battle the Gauls had immediately pursued the fugitives, there would have been nothing to hinder the entire destruction of Rome, and all that remain-

ed in it; with such terror was the city struck at the return of those that escaped from the battle, and so filled with confusion and distraction! But the Gauls, not imagining the victory to be so great as it was, in the excess of their joy indulged themselves in good cheer, and shared the plunder of the camp; by which means numbers that were for leaving the city had leisure to escape, and those that remained had time to recollect themselves and prepare for their defence. For, quitting the rest of the city, they retired to the Capitol, which they fortified with strong ramparts and provided well with arms. But their first care was of their holy things, most of which they conveyed into the Capitol. As for the sacred fire, the *vestal virgins* took it up, together with other holy relicks, and fled away with it: though some will have it, that they have not the charge of any thing but that *everliving* fire, which Numa appointed to be worshipped as the principle of all things. It is indeed the most active thing in nature; and all generation either is motion, or, at least, with motion. Other parts of matter, when the heat fails, lie sluggish and dead, and crave the force of fire as an informing soul; and when that comes, they acquire some active or passive quality. Hence it was that Numa, a man curious in his researches into nature, and on account of his wisdom supposed to have conversed with the muses, consecrated this fire, and ordered it to be perpetually kept up, as an image of that eternal power which preserves and actuates the universe. Others say, that according to the usage of the Greeks, the fire is kept ever burning before the holy places, as an emblem of purity; but that there are other things in the most secret part of the temple, kept from the sight of all but those virgins whom they call *vestals*: and the most current opinion is, that the *palladium* of Troy, which Æneas brought into Italy, is laid up there.

Others say, the Samothracian gods are there concealed; whom Dardanus,* after he had built Troy, brought to

* Dardanus, who flourished in the time of Moses, about the year before Christ 1480, is said to have been originally of Arcadia, from whence he passed to Samothrace. Afterwards he married Batea or Arista the daughter of Teucer, king of Phrygia. Of the Samothracian gods we have already given an account; but may add here, from Macrobius, that the *dii magni*, which Dardanus brought from Samothrace, were the *penates*, or household gods which Æneas, afterwards carried into Italy. Dionysius of Halicarnassus says, he had

that city and caused to be worshipped; and that after the taking of Troy, Æneas privately carried them off, and kept them till he settled in Italy. But those that pretend to know most about these matters, say, there are placed, two casks of a moderate size, the one open and empty, the other full and sealed up, but neither of them to be seen by any but those holy virgins. Others, again, think this is all a mistake, which arose from their putting most of their sacred utensils in two casks, and hiding them under ground in the temple of Quirinus, and that the place from those casks is still called *Doliolo*.

They took, however, with them the choicest and most sacred things they had, and fled with them along the side of the river; where Lucius Albinus, a plebeian, among others that were making their escape, was carrying his wife and children and some of his most necessary moveables in a waggon. But when he saw the vestals in a helpless and weary condition, carrying in their arms the sacred symbols of the gods, he immediately took out his family and goods, and put the virgins in the waggon, that they might make their escape to some of the Grecian cities.* This piety of Albinus, and the veneration he expressed for the gods at so dangerous a juncture, deserves to be recorded.

As for the other priests, and the most ancient of the senators that were of consular dignity, or had been honoured with triumphs, they could not bear to think of quitting the city. They, therefore, put on their holy vestments and robes of state, and, in a form dictated by Fabius the *pontifex maximus*, making their vows to the gods,† devoted themselves for their country: thus attired, they sat down in their ivory chairs in the *forum*,‡ prepared for the worst extremity.

seen the *penates* in an old temple at Rome. They were of antique workmanship, representing two young men sitting, and holding each a lance in his hand, and had for their inscription DENAS, instead of PENAS.

* Albinus conducted them to Cære, a city of Hetruria, where they met with a favourable reception. The vestals remained a considerable time at Cære, and there performed the usual rites of religion; and hence those rites were called *Ceremonies*.

† The Romans believed, that, by those voluntary consecrations to the infernal gods, disorder and confusion was brought among the enemy.

‡ These ivory or *curule* chairs were used only by those who had borne

The third day after the battle, Brennus arrived with his army; and finding the gates of the city opened and the walls destitute of guards, at first he had some apprehensions of a stratagem or ambuscade, for he could not think the Romans had so entirely given themselves up to despair. But when he found it to be so in reality, he entered by the *Colline* gate, and took Rome, a little more than three hundred and sixty years after its foundation; if it is likely that any exact account has been kept of those times,* the confusion of which has occasioned so much obscurity in things of a later date.

Some uncertain rumours, however, of Rome's being taken, appear to have soon passed into Greece. For Heraclides of Pontus,† who lived not long after these times, in his treatise *concerning the soul*, relates, that an account was brought from the west that an army from the country of the Hyperboreans‡ had taken a Greek city called Rome, situated somewhere near the great sea. But I do not wonder that such a fabulous writer as Heraclides should embellish his account of the taking of Rome with the pompous terms of Hyperboreans and the great sea. It is very clear that Aristotle the philosopher had heard that Rome was taken by the Gauls; but he calls its deliverer Lucius; whereas Camillus was not called Lucius but Marcus. These authors had no better authority than common report.

Brennus, thus in possession of Rome, set a strong guard about the capitol, and himself went down into the *forum*; where he was struck with amazement at the sight of so many men seated in great state and silence, who neither

the most honourable offices, and the persons who had a right to sit in them bore also ivory staves.

* Livy tells us, that the Romans of those times did not much apply themselves to writing, and that the commentaries of the *pontifices*, and their other monuments both public and private, were destroyed when the city was burnt by the Gauls.

† He lived at that very time: for he was at first Plato's scholar, and afterwards Aristotle's; and Plato was but forty-one years old when Rome was taken.

‡ The ancients called all the inhabitants of the north *Hyperboreans*, and the Mediterranean the *Great Sea*, to distinguish it from the Euxine. Notwithstanding that Heraclides was right in this, he might be a very fabulous writer: so was Herodotus; and so were the ancient historians of almost all countries; and the reason is obvious; they had little more than tradition to write from.

rose up at the approach of their enemies, nor changed countenance or colour, but leaned upon their staves, and sat looking upon each other without fear or concern.... The Gauls astonished at so surprising a spectacle, and regarding them as superior beings, for a long time were afraid to approach or touch them. At last one of them ventured to go near Manius Papirius, and advancing his hand, gently stroked his beard, which was very long: upon which, Papirius struck him on the head with his staff, and wounded him. The barbarian then drew his sword and killed him. After this, the Gauls fell upon the rest and slew them, and continuing their rage, dispatched all that came in their way. Then for many days together they pillaged the houses and carried off the spoil; at last they set fire to the city, and demolished what escaped the flames, to express their indignation against those in the capitol, who obeyed not their summons, but made a vigorous defence, and greatly annoyed the besiegers from the walls. This it was that provoked them to destroy the whole city, and to dispatch all that fell into their hands, without sparing either sex or age.

As by the length of the siege provisions began to fail the Gauls, they divided their forces, and part stayed with the king before that fortress, while part foraged the country, and laid waste the towns and villages. Their success had inspired them with such confidence, that they did not keep in a body, but carelessly rambled about in different troops and parties. It happened that the largest and best disciplined corps went against Ardea, where Camillus, since his exile, lived in absolute retirement. This great event, however, awaked him into action, and his mind was employed in contriving, not how to keep himself concealed and to avoid the Gauls, but, if an opportunity should offer, to attack and conquer them. Perceiving that the Ardeans were not deficient in numbers, but courage and discipline, which was owing to the inexperience and inactivity of their officers, he applied first to the young men, and told them, "They ought not to ascribe the defeat of the Romans to the valour of the Gauls, or to consider the calamities they had suffered in the midst of their infatuation, as brought upon them by men who, in fact, could not claim the merit of the victory but as the work of fortune. That it would

be glorious, though they risked something by it to repel a foreign and barbarous enemy, whose end in conquering was, like fire, to destroy what they subdued: but that if they would assume a proper spirit, he would give them an opportunity to conquer without any hazard at all. When he found the young men were pleased with his discourse, he went next to the magistrates and senate of Ardea; and having persuaded them also to adopt his scheme, he armed all that were of a proper age for it, and drew them up within the walls, that the enemy, who were but at a small distance, might not know what he was about.

The Gauls having scoured the country, and loaded themselves with plunder, encamped upon the plains in a careless and disorderly manner. Night found them intoxicated with wine, and silence reigned in the camp. As soon as Camillus was informed of this by his spies, he led the Ardeans out; and having passed the intermediate space without noise, he reached their camp about midnight. Then he ordered a loud shout to be set up, and the trumpets to sound on all sides, to cause the greater confusion: but it was with difficulty they recovered themselves from their sleep and intoxication. A few, whom fear had made sober, snatched up their arms to oppose Camillus, and fell with their weapons in their hands: but the greatest part of them, buried in sleep and wine, were surprised unarmed and easily dispatched. A small number, that in the night escaped out of the camp, and wandered in the fields, were picked up next day by the cavalry, and put to the sword.

The fame of this action soon reaching the neighbouring cities, drew out many of their ablest warriors. Particularly such of the Romans as had escaped from the battle of Allia to Veii, lamented with themselves in some such manner as this, "What a general has heaven taken from Rome in Camillus, to adorn the Ardeans with his exploits? while the city which produced and brought up so great a man is absolutely ruined. And we, for want of a leader, sit idle within the walls of a strange city, and betray the liberties of Italy. Come then, let us send to the Ardeans to demand our general, or else take our weapons and go to him: for he is no longer an exile, nor we citizens, having no country but what is in possession of an enemy."

This motion was agreed to, and they sent to Camillus to intreat him to accept of the command. But he answered, he could not do it, before he was legally appointed to it, by the Romans in the Capitol.* For he looked upon them, while they were in being as the commonwealth, and would readily obey their orders, but without them would not be so officious as to interpose.†

They admired the modesty and honour of Camillus, but knew not how to send the proposal to the Capitol. It seemed indeed impossible for a messenger to pass into the Citadel, whilst the enemy were in possession of the city. However, a young man, named Pontius Cominius, not distinguished by his birth, but fond of glory, readily took upon him the commission. He carried no letters to the citizens in the Capitol, lest, if he should happen to be taken, the enemy should discover by them the intentions of Camillus. Having dressed himself in mean attire, under which he concealed some pieces of cork, he travelled all day without fear, and approached the city as it grew dark. He could not pass the river by the bridge, because it was guarded by the Gauls; and therefore took his clothes, which were neither many nor heavy, and bound them about his head; and having laid himself upon the the pieces of cork, easily swam over and reached the city. Then avoiding those quarters where, by the lights and noise, he concluded they kept watch, he went to the *Carmental* gate, where there was the greatest silence, and where the hill of the Capitol is the steepest and most craggy. Up this he got unperceived, by a way the most difficult and dreadful, and advanced near the guards upon the walls. After he had hailed them and told them his name, they received him with joy, and conducted him to the magistrates.

The senate was presently assembled, and he acquainted them with the victory of Camillus, which they had not heard of before, as well as with the proceedings of the soldiers at Veii, and exhorted them to confirm Camillus

* Livy says, the Roman soldiers at Veii applied to the remains of the senate in the Capitol for leave, before they offered the command to Camillus. So much regard had those brave men for the constitution of their country, though Rome then lay in ashes. Every private man was indeed a patriot.

† Μηδεν πολυπραγμονησειν.

in the command, as the citizens out of Rome would obey none but him. Having heard his report and consulted together, they declared Camillus dictator, and sent Pontius back the same way he came, who was equally fortunate in his return; for he passed the enemy undiscovered, and delivered to the Romans at Veii the decree of the senate, which they received with pleasure.

Camillus, at his arrival, found twenty thousand of them in arms, to whom he added a greater number, of the allies, and prepared to attack the enemy. Thus was he appointed dictator the second time, and having put himself at the head of the Romans and confederates, he marched out against the Gauls.

Meantime, some of the barbarians employed in the siege, happening to pass by the place where Pontius had made his way by night up to the Capitol, observed many traces of his feet and hands, as he had worked himself up the rock, torn off what grew there, and tumbled down the mould. Of this they informed the king; who coming and viewing it, for the present said nothing; but in the evening he assembled the lightest and most active of his men, who were the likeliest to climb any difficult height, and thus addressed them: "The enemy have themselves shown us a way to reach them, which we were ignorant of, and have proved that this rock is neither inaccessible nor untrod by human feet. What a shame would it be then after having made a beginning, not to finish; and to quit the place as impregnable, when the Romans themselves have taught us how to take it? Where it was easy for one man to ascend, it cannot be difficult for many, one by one; nay, should many attempt it together, they will find great advantage in assisting each other. In the mean time I intend great rewards and honours for such as shall distinguish themselves on this occasion."

The Gauls readily embraced the king's proposal, and about midnight a number of them together began to climb the rock in silence, which, though steep and craggy, proved more practicable than they expected. The foremost having gained the top, put themselves in order, and were ready to take possession of the wall, and to fall upon the guards who were fast asleep; for neither man nor dog perceived their coming. However, there were cer-

tain sacred geese kept near Juno's temple,* and at other times plentifully fed; but at this time, as corn and the other provisions that remained were scarce sufficient for the men, they were neglected and in poor condition. This animal is naturally quick of hearing, and soon alarmed at any noise; and as hunger kept them waking and uneasy; they immediately perceived the coming of the Gauls, and running at them with all the noise they could make, they awoke all the guards. The barbarians now, perceiving they were discovered, advanced with loud shouts and great fury. The Romans in haste snatched up such weapons as came to hand, and acquitted themselves like men on this sudden emergency. First of all, Manlius, a man of consular dignity, remarkable for his strength and extraordinary courage, engaged two Gauls at once; and as one of them was lifting up his battle-ax, with his sword cut off his right hand: At the same time he thrust the boss of his shield in the face of the other, and dashed him down the precipice. Thus standing upon the rampart, with those that had come to his assistance and fought by his side, he drove back the rest of the Gauls that had got up, who were no great number, and who performed nothing worthy of such an attempt. The Romans having thus escaped the danger that threatened them, as soon as it was light, threw the officer that commanded the watch down the rock amongst the enemy, and decreed Manlius a reward for his victory, which had more of honour in it than profit; for every man gave him what he had for one day's allowance, which was half a pound of bread and a quartern of the Greek *cotyle*.

After this, the Gauls began to lose courage: For provisions were scarce and they could not forage for fear of Camillus.† Sickness too, prevailed among them, which took its rise from the heaps of dead bodies, and from their encamping amidst the rubbish of the houses they had burnt; where there was such a quantity of ashes

* Geese were ever after had in honour at Rome, and a flock of them always kept at the expence of the public. A golden image of a goose was erected in memory of them, and a goose every year carried in triumph upon a soft litter finely adorned; while dogs were held in abhorrence by the Romans, who every year impaled one of them upon a branch of elder. PLIN. *et* PLUT. *de Fortuna Rom.*

† Camillus being master of the country, posted strong guards on all the roads, and in effect besieged the besiegers.

as, when raised by the winds or heated by the sun, by their dry and acrid quality so corrupted the air, that every breath of it was pernicious. But what effected them most was, the change of climate; for they had lived in countries that abounded with shades and agreeable shelters from the heat, and were now got into grounds that were low, and unhealthy in autumn. All this, together with the length and tediousness of the siege, which had now lasted more than six months, caused such desolation among them, and carried off such numbers, that the carcases lay unburied.

The besieged, however, were not in a much better condition. Famine, which now pressed them hard, and their ignorance of what Camillus was doing, caused no small dejection: For the barbarians guarded the city with so much care, that it was impossible to send any messenger to him. Both sides being thus equally discouraged, the advanced guards, who were near enough to converse, first began to talk of treating. As the motion was approved by those that had the chief direction of affairs, Sulpitius, one of the military tribunes, went and conferred with Brennus; where it was agreed, that the Romans should pay a thousand pounds weight of gold,* and that the Gauls upon the receipt of it should immediately quit the city and its territories. When the conditions were sworn to, and the gold was brought, the Gauls endeavouring to avail themselves of false weights, privately at first, and afterwards openly drew down their own side of the balance. The Romans expressing their resentment, Brennus in a contemptuous and insulting manner took off his sword, and threw it belt and all, into the scale: And when Sulpitius asked, what that meant, he answered, "What should it mean but woe† to "the conquered?" which became a proverbial saying. Some of the Romans were highly incensed at this, and talked of returning with their gold, and enduring the utmost extremities of the siege; but others were of opinion, that it was better to pass by a small injury, since the indignity lay not in paying more than was due, but in paying any thing at all; a disgrace only consequent upon the necessity of the times.

* That is, forty-five thousand pounds sterling.

† *Væ Victis.*

While they were thus disputing with the Gauls, Camillus arrived at the gates; and being informed of what had passed, ordered the main body of his army to advance slowly and in good order, while he with a select band marched hastily up to the Romans, who all gave place and received the dictator with respect and silence. Then he took the gold out of the scales and gave it to the *lictors* and ordered the Gauls to take away the balance and the weights, and to be gone; telling them, *it was the custom of the Romans to deliver their country with steel, not with gold.* And when Brennus expressed his indignation, and complained he had great injustice done him by this infraction of the treaty, Camillus answered, "That it was never lawfully made; nor could it be valid, without his consent who was dictator and sole magistrate; they had, therefore, acted without proper authority: But they might make their proposals, now he was come, whom the laws had invested with power either to pardon the suppliant, or to punish the guilty, if proper satisfaction was not made.

At this Brennus was still more highly incensed, and a skirmish ensued; swords were drawn on both sides, and thrusts exchanged in a confused manner, which it is easy to conceive must be the case, amidst the ruins of houses and in narrow streets, where there was not room to draw up regularly. Brennus, however, soon recollected himself and drew off his forces into the camp, with the loss of a small number. In the night he ordered them to march and quit the city; and having retreated about eight miles from it, he encamped upon the Gabinian road. Early in the morning, Camillus came up with them, his arms dazzling the sight, and his men full of spirits and fire. A sharp engagement ensued which lasted a long time; at length the Gauls were routed with great slaughter, and their camp taken. Some of those that fled were killed in the pursuit; but the greater part were cut in pieces by the people in the neighbouring towns and villages, who fell upon them as they were dispersed.*

* There is reason to question the truth of the latter part of this story. Plutarch copied it from Livy. But Polybius represents the Gauls as actually receiving the gold from the Romans, and returning in safety to their own country; and this is confirmed by Justin, Suetonius, and even by Livy himself in another part of his history x. 16.

Thus was Rome strangely taken, and more strangely recovered, after it had been seven months in the possession of the barbarians: for they entered it a little after the *Ides*, the fifteenth of July, and were driven out about the *Ides*, the thirteenth of February following. Camillus returned in triumph, as became the deliverer of his lost country, and the restorer of Rome. Those that had quitted the place before the siege, with their wives and children, now followed his chariot; and they that had been besieged in the capitol and were almost perishing with hunger, met the other and embraced them; weeping for joy at this unexpected pleasure, which they almost considered as a dream. The priests and ministers of the gods bringing back wih them what holy things they had hid or conveyed away when they fled, afforded a most desirable spectacle to the people; and they gave them the kindest welcome, as if the gods themselves had returned with them to Rome. Next, Camillus sacrificed to the gods, and purified the city, in a form dictated by the pontiffs. He rebuilt the former temples and erected a new one to *Aius Loquutius* the *speaker*, or *warner*, upon the very spot where the voice from heaven announced in the night to Marcus Ceditius the coming of the barbarians. There was, indeed, no small difficulty in discovering the places where the temples had stood, but it was effected by the zeal of Camillus and the industry of the priests.

As it was necessary to rebuild the city, which was entirely demolished, an heartless despondency seized the multitude, and they invented pretexts of delay. They were in want of all necessary materials, and had more occasion for repose and refreshment after their sufferings, than to labour and wear themselves out, when their bodies were weak and their substance was gone. They had, therefore, a secret attachment to Veii, a city which remained entire, and was provided with every thing. This gave a handle to their demagogues to harangue them, as usual, in a way agreeable to their inclinations, and made them listen to seditious speeches against Camillus; "As if to gratify his ambition and thirst of glory, he would deprive them of a city fit to receive them, force them to pitch their tents among rubbish, and rebuild a ruin that was like one great funeral pile; in order that he might not only be called the general and dictator of

Rome, but the founder, too, instead of Romulus, whose right he invaded."

On this account, the senate afraid of an insurrection, would not let Camillus lay down the dictatorship within the year, as he desired, though no other person had ever borne that high office more than six months. In the mean time they went about to console the people, to gain them by carresses and persuasions. One while they shewed them the monuments and tombs of their ancestors, then they put them in mind of their temples and holy places, which Romulus and Numa, and the other kings, had consecrated and left in charge with them. Above all, amidst the sacred and awful symbols, they took care to make them recollect the fresh human head,* which was found when the foundations of the Capitol were dug, and which pre-signified that the same place was destined to be the head of Italy. They urged the disgrace it would be to extinguish again the sacred fire, which the vestals had lighted since the war, and to quit the city; whether they were to see it inhabited by strangers, or a desolate wild for flocks to feed in. In this moving manner the *patricians* remonstrated to the people both in public and private; and were, in their turn, much affected by the distress of the multitude, who lamented their present indigence, and begged of them, now they were collected like the remains of a shipwreck, not to oblige them to patch up the ruins of a desolated city, when there was one entire and ready to receive them.

Camillus, therefore, thought proper to take the judgment of the senate in a body. And when he had exerted his eloquence in favour of his native country, and others had done the same, he put it to the vote, beginning with Lucius Lucretius, whose right it was to vote first, and who was to be followed by the rest in their order. Silence was made; and as Lucretius was about to declare himself, it happened that a centurion who then commanded the

* This prodigy happened in the reign of Tarquin *the proud*, who undoubtedly must have put the head there on purpose: for in digging the foundation it was found warm and bleeding, as if just severed from the body. Upon this, the Romans sent to consult the Tuscan sooth-sayers, who, after vainly endeavouring to bring the presage to favour their own country, acknowledged that the place where that head was found would be the head of all Italy. DIONYS. HAL. lib. iv.

day-guard, as he passed the house, called with a loud voice to the ensign, *to stop and set up his standard there, for that was the best place to stay in.* These words being so seasonably uttered, at a time when they were doubtful and anxious about the event, Lucretius gave thanks to the gods; and embraced the omen; while the rest gladly assented. A wonderful change, at the same time, took place in the minds of the people, who exhorted and encouraged each other to the work, and they began to build immediately, not in any order or upon a regular plan, but as inclination or convenience directed. By reason of this hurry the streets were narrow and intricate, and the houses badly laid out; for they tell us both the walls of the city and the streets were built within the compass of a year.

The persons appointed by Camillus to search for and mark out the holy places, found all in confusion. As they were looking round the *Palatium*, they came to the court of *Mars*, where the buildings, like the rest, were burnt and demolished by the barbarians; but in removing the rubbish and cleaning the place, they discovered, under a great heap of ashes, the augural staff of Romulus. This staff is crooked at one end, and called *lituus*. It is used in marking out the several quarters of the heavens, in any process of divination by the flight of birds, which Romulus was much skilled in and made great use of.... When he was taken out of the world, the priests carefully preserved the staff from defilement, like other holy relicks: And this having escaped the fire, when the rest were consumed, they indulged a pleasing hope, and considered it as a presage, that Rome would last for ever.*

Before they had finished the laborious task of building, a new war broke out. The Æqui, the Volsci, and the Latins, all at once invaded their territories, and the Tuscans laid siege to Sutrium, a city in alliance with Rome. The military tribunes too, who commanded the army,

* About this time, the tribunes of the people determined to impeach Q. Fabius, who had violated the law of nations, and thereby provoked the Gauls, and occasioned the burning of Rome. His crime being notorious, he was summoned by C. Martius Rutilus before the assembly of the people, to answer for his conduct in the embassy. The criminal had reason to fear the severest punishment; but his relations gave out that he died suddenly; which generally happened when the accused person had courage enough to prevent his condemnation, and the shame of a public punishment.

being surrounded by the Latins near Mount Marcius, and their camp in great danger, sent to Rome to desire succours; on which occasion Camillus was appointed dictator the third time.

Of this war there are two different accounts: I begin with the fabulous one. It is said, the Latins either seeking a pretence for war, or really inclined to renew their ancient affinity with the Romans, sent to demand of them a number of free born virgins in marriage. The Romans were in no small perplexity as to the course they should take: For, on the one hand, they were afraid of war, as they were not yet re-established nor had recovered their losses; and on the other, they suspected that the Latins only wanted their daughters for hostages, though they coloured their design with the special name of marriage. While they were thus embarrassed, a female slave, named Tutula,* or, as some call her, Philotis, advised the magistrates to send with her some of the handsomest and most genteel of the maid-servants, dressed like virgins of good families, and leave the rest to her. The magistrates approving the expedient, chose a number of female slaves proper for her purpose, and sent them richly attired to the Latin camp, which was not far from the city. At night, while the other slaves conveyed away the enemies' swords, Tutula, or Philotis got up into a wild fig-tree of considerable height, and having spread a thick garment behind, to conceal her design from the Latins, held up a torch towards Rome, which was the signal agreed upon between her and the magistrates, who alone were in the secret. For this reason the soldiers sallied out in a tumultuous manner, calling upon each other, and hastened by their officers, who found it difficult to bring them into any order. They made themselves masters, however, of the entrenchments, and as the enemy, expecting no such attempt, were asleep, they took the camp and put the greatest part of them to the sword. This happened on the *Nones*, the seventh of July, then called *Quintilis*: And on that day they celebrate a feast in memory of this action. In the first place, they sally in a crowding and disorderly manner out of the city, pronouncing aloud the most familiar and common names, as Caius, Marcus, Lucius,

* In the life of Romulus she is called *Tutola*. Macrobius calls her *Tutela*.

and the like; by which they imitate the soldiers then calling upon each other in their hurry. Next, the maid-servants walk about, elegantly dressed, and jesting on all they meet. They have also a kind of fight among themselves, to express the assistance they gave in the engagement with the Latins. Then they sit down to an entertainment, shaded with branches of the fig-tree: And that day is called *Nonæ Caprotinæ*, as some suppose, on account of the wild fig-tree, from which the maid-servant held out the torch; for the Romans call that tree *caprificus*. Others refer the greatest part of what is said and done on that occasion to that part of the story of Romulus when he disappeared, and the darkness and tempest, or, as some imagine, an eclipse happened. It was on the same day, at least, and the day might be called *Nonæ Caprotinæ*; for the Romans call a *goat Capra*; and Romulus vanished out of sight while he was holding an assembly of the people at the *Goat's Marsh*, as we have related in his life.

The other account that is given of this war, and approved by most historians, is as follows. Camillus, being appointed dictator the third time, and knowing that the army under the military tribunes was surrounded by the Latins and Volscians, was constrained to make levies among such as age had exempted from service. With these he fetched a large compass about Mount Marcius, and unperceived by the enemy posted his army behind them; and by lighting many fires signified his arrival.... The Romans that were besieged in their camp, being encouraged by this, resolved to sally out and join battle.... But the Latins and Volscians kept close within their works, drawing a line of circumvallation with palisades, because they had the enemy on both sides, and resolving to wait for reinforcements from home, as well as for the Tuscan succours.

Camillus, perceiving this, and fearing that the enemy might surround them, hastened to make use of the present opportunity. As the works of the confederates consisted of wood, and the wind used to blow hard from the mountains at sun-rising, he provided a great quantity of combustible matter, and drew out his forces at day-break. Part of them he ordered with loud shouts and missive weapons to begin the attack on the opposite side; while he himself; at the head of those that were charged with the

fire, watched the proper minute, on that side of the works where the wind used to blow directly. When the sun was risen the wind blew violently; and the attack being begun on the other side, he gave the signal to his own party, who poured a vast quantity of fiery darts and other burning matter into the enemy's fortifications. As the flame soon caught hold, and was fed by the palisades and other timber, it spread itself into all quarters; and the Latins not being provided with any means of extinguishing it, the camp was almost full of fire, and they were reduced to a small spot of ground. At last they were forced to bear down upon that body who were posted before the camp and ready to receive them sword in hand. Consequently very few of them escaped; and those that remained in the camp were destroyed by the flames, till the Romans extinguished them for the sake of the plunder.

After this exploit, he left his son Lucius in the camp to guard the prisoners and the booty, while he himself penetrated into the enemy's country. There he took the city of the Æqui and reduced the Volsci, and then led his army to Sutrium, whose fate he was not yet apprised of, and which he hoped to relieve by fighting the Tuscans who had sat down before it. But the Sutrians had already surrendered their town, with the loss of every thing but the clothes they had on; and in this condition he met them by the way, with their wives and children, bewailing their misfortunes. Camillus was extremely moved at so sad a spectacle; and perceiving that the Romans wept with pity at the affecting intreaties of the Sutrians, he determined not to defer his revenge, but to march to Sutrium that very day; concluding that men who had just taken an opulent city, where they had not left one enemy, and who expected none from any other quarter, would be found in disorder and off their guard. Nor was he mistaken in his judgment. He not only passed through the country undiscovered, but approached the gates and got possession of the walls before they were aware. Indeed there was none to guard them; for all were engaged in festivity and dissipation. Nay, even when they perceived that the enemy were masters of the town, they were so overcome by their indulgencies, that few endeavoured to escape; they were either slain in their houses,

or surrendered themselves to the conquerors. Thus the city of Sutrium being twice taken in one day, the new possessors were expelled, and the old ones restored, by Camillus.

By the triumph decreed him on this occasion, he gained no less credit and honour than by the two former. For those of the citizens that envied him, and were desirous to attribute his successes rather to fortune than to his valour and conduct, were compelled by these last actions, to allow his great abilities and application. Among those that opposed him and detracted from his merit, the most considerable was Marcus Manlius, who was the first that repulsed the Gauls, when they attempted the Capitol by night, and on that account was surnamed *Capitolinus*. He was ambitious to be the greatest man in Rome, and as he could not by fair means outstrip Camillus in the race of honour, he took the common road to absolute power by courting the populace, particularly those that were in debt. Some of the latter he defended by pleading their causes against their creditors ; and others he rescued, forcibly preventing their being dealt with according to law : So that he soon got a number of indigent persons about him, who became formidable to the patricians by their insolent and riotous behaviour in the *forum*.

In this exigency they appointed Cornelius Cossus* dictator, who named Titus Quintius Capitolinus his general of horse ; and by this supreme magistrate Manlius was committed to prison : On which occasion the people went into mourning ; a thing never used but in time of great and public calamities. The senate, therefore, afraid of an insurrection, ordered him to be released. But when set at liberty, instead of altering his conduct, he grew more insolent and troublesome, and filled the whole city with faction and sedition. At that time Camillus was again created a military tribune, and Manlius taken and brought to his trial. But the sight of the Capitol was a great disadvantage to those that carried on the impeachment. The place where Manlius by night maintained the fight against the Gauls, was seen from the *forum ;* and all that attended were moved with compassion at his stretching out his hands towards that place, and begging them with tears

* Vide Liv. lib. vi. cap. ii.

to remember his atchievements. The judges of course were greatly embarrassed, and often adjourned the court, not choosing to acquit him after such clear proofs of his crime, nor yet able to carry the laws into execution in a place which continually reminded the people of his services. Camillus, sensible of this, removed the tribunal without the gate, into the Peteline Grove, where there was no prospect of the Capitol. There the prosecutor brought his charge, and the remembrance of his former bravery gave way to the sense which his judges had of his present crimes. Manlius, therefore, was condemned, carried to the Capitol, and thrown headlong from the rock. Thus the same place was the monument, both of his glory and his unfortunate end. The Romans, moreover, raised his house, and built there a temple to the goddess *Moneta*. They decreed likewise that for the future no *patrician* should ever dwell in the Capitol.*

Camillus, who was now nominated military tribune the sixth time, declined that honour. For, besides that he was of an advanced age, he was apprehensive of the effects of envy and of some change of fortune, after so much glory and success. But the excuse he most insisted on in public, was, the state of his health, which at that time was infirm. The people, however, refusing to accept of that excuse, cried out, "They did not desire him to fight either on horseback or on foot; they only wanted his counsel and his orders. Thus they forced him to take the office upon him, and, together with Lucius Furius Medullinus, one of

* Lest the advantageous situation of a fortress, that commanded the whole city, should suggest and facilitate the design of enslaving it. For Manlius was accused of aiming at the sovereign power. His fate may serve as a warning to all ambitious men who want to rise on the ruins of their country; for he could not escape or find mercy with the people, though he produced above four hundred plebeians, whose debts he had paid; though he shewed thirty suits of armour, the spoils of thirty enemies, whom he had slain in single combat; though he had received forty honorary rewards, among which were two mural and eight civic crowns, (C. Servilius, when general of the horse, being of the number of citizens whose lives he had saved;) and though he had crowned all with the preservation of the Capitol. So inconstant, however, is the multitude, that Manlius was scarce dead, when his loss was generally lamented, and a plague, which soon followed, ascribed to the anger of Jupiter against the authors of his death.

his colleagues, to march immediately against the enemy."

These were the people of Præneste and the Volsci, who with a considerable army were laying waste the country in alliance with Rome. Camillus, therefore, went and encamped over against them, intending to prolong the war, that if there should be any necessity for a battle, he might be sufficiently recovered to do his part. But as his colleague Lucius, too ambitious of glory, was violently and indiscretely bent upon fighting, and inspired the other officers with the same ardour, he was afraid it might be thought that through envy he withheld from the young officers the opportunity to distinguish themselves. For this reason he agreed, though with great reluctance, that Lucius should draw out the forces, whilst he, on account of his sickness,* remained with a handful of men in the camp. But when he perceived that Lucius, who engaged in a rash and precipitate manner, was defeated, and the Romans put to flight, he could not contain himself, but leaped from his bed, and went with his retinue to the gates of the camp. There he forced his way through the fugitives up to the pursuers, and made so good a stand, that those who had fled to the camp soon retured to the charge, and others that were retreating rallied and placed themselves about him, exhorting each other not to forsake their general. Thus the enemy were stopt in the pursuit. Next day he marched out at the head of his army, entirely routed the confederates in a pitched battle, and entering their camp along with them, cut most of them in pieces.

After this, being informed that Satricum, a Roman colony, was taken by the Tuscans, and the inhabitants put to the sword, he sent home the main body of his forces, which consisted of the heavy-armed, and with a select band of light and spirited young men fell upon the Tuscans that were in possession of the city, some of whom he put to the sword, and the rest were driven out.

Returning to Rome with great spoils, he gave a signal evidence of the good sense of the Roman people, who entertained no fears on account of the ill health or age of a general that was not deficient in courage or experience,

* Livy says, he placed himself on an eminence, with a *corps de reserve*, to observe the success of the battle.

but made choice of him, infirm and reluctant as he was, rather than of those young men who wanted and solicited the command. Hence it was, that upon the news of the revolt of the Tusculans, Camillus was ordered to march against them, and to take with him only one of his five colleagues. Though they all desired and made interest for the commission, yet, passing the rest by, he pitched upon Lucius Furius, contrary to the general expectation: for this was the man who but just before, against the opinion of Camillus, was so eager to engage, and lost the battle. Yet, willing, it seems, to draw a veil over his misfortune and to wipe off his disgrace, he was generous enough to give him the preference.*

When the Tusculans perceived that Camillus was coming against them, they attempted to correct their error by artful management. They filled the fields with husbandmen and shepherds, as in time of profound peace; they left their gates open, and sent their children to school as before. The tradesmen were found in their shops employed in their respective callings, and the better sort of citizens walking in the public places in their usual dress. Mean while the magistrates were busily passing to and fro, to order quarters for the Romans; as if they expected no danger and were conscious of no fault. Though these arts could not alter the opinion Camillus had of their revolt, yet their repentance disposed him to compassion. He ordered them, therefore, to go to the senate of Rome and beg pardon: and when they appeared there as suppliants, he used his interest to procure their forgiveness, and a grant of the privileges of Roman citizens † besides. These were the principal actions of his sixth tribuneship.

* This choice of Camillus had a different motive from what Plutarch mentions. He knew that Furius, who had felt the ill effects of a precipitate conduct, would be the first man to avoid such a conduct for the future.

† He was only a Roman citizen, in the most extensive signification of the words, who had a right of having an house in Rome, of giving his vote in the Comitia, and of standing candidate for any office; and who, consequently, was incorporated into one of the tribes. The freedmen in the times of the republic were excluded from dignities: and of the municipal towns and Roman colonies, which enjoyed the right of citizenship, some had, and some had not, the right of suffrage and of promotion to offices in Rome.

After this, Licinius Stolo raised a great sedition in the state; putting himself at the head of the people, who insisted that of the two consuls one should be a plebeian. Tribunes of the people were appointed, but the multitude would suffer no election of consuls to be held.* As this want of chief magistrates was likely to bring on still greater troubles, the senate created Camillus dictator the fourth time against the consent of the people, and not even agreeable to his own inclination.† For he was unwilling to set himself against those persons, who, having been often led on by him to conquest, could with great truth affirm, that he had more concern with them in the military way, than with the patricians in the civil; and at the same time was sensible that the envy of those very patricians induced them now to promote him to that high station, that he might oppress the people if he succeeded, or be ruined by them if he failed in his attempt. He attempted, however, to obviate the present danger, and as he knew the day on which the tribunes intended to propose their law, he published a general muster, and summoned the people from the *forum* into the field, threatening to set heavy fines upon those that should not obey. On the other hand, the tribunes of the people opposed him with menaces, solemnly protesting they would fine him fifty thousand *drachmas*, if he did not permit the people to put their bill to the vote. Whether it was that he was afraid of a second condemnation and banisment, which would but ill suit him, now he was grown old and covered with glory, or whether he thought he could not get the better of the people whose violence was equal to

* This confusion lasted five years; during which the tribunes of the people prevented the Comitia from being held, which were necessary for the election of the chief magistrates. It was occasioned by a trifling accident. Fabius Ambustus having married his eldest daughter to Servius Sulpicius, a patrician, and at this time military tribune, and the younger to Licinius Stolo, a rich plebeian; it happened that while the younger sister was paying a visit to the elder, Sulpicius came home from the forum and his lictors, with the staff of the fasces, thundered at the door. The younger sister being frightened at the noise, the elder laughed at her, as a person quite ignorant of high life. This afront greatly afflicted her; and her father, to comfort her, bid her not be uneasy, for she should soon see as much state at her own house as had surprised her at her sister's.

† The year of Rome 388.

their power, for the present he retired to his own house; and soon after, under pretence of sickness, resigned the dictatorship.* The senate appointed another dictator, who having named for his general of horse that very Stolo who was leader of the sedition, suffered a law to be made that was extremely disagreeable to the patricians. It provided that no person whatsoever, should possess more than five hundred acres of land. Stolo having carried his point with the people, flourished greatly for a while: but not long after being convicted of possessing more than the limited number of acres, he suffered the penalties of his own law.†

The most difficult part of the dispute, and that which they began with, namely, concerning the election of consuls, remained still unsettled; and continued to give the senate great uneasiness; when certain information was brought that the Gauls were marching again from the coasts of the Adriatic, with an immense army towards Rome. With this news came an account of the usual effects of war, the country laid waste, and such of the inhabitants as could not take refuge in Rome dispersed about the mountains. The terror of this put a stop to the sedition; and the most popular of the senators uniting with the people, with one voice created Camillus dictator the fifth time. He was now very old, wanting little of fourscore; yet, seeing the necessity and danger of the times, he was willing to risk all inconveniences, and, without alledging any excuse, immediateiy took upon him the command, and made the levies. As he knew the chief force of the barbarians lay in their swords, which they managed without art or skill, furiously rushing in, and aiming chiefly at the head and shoulders, he furnished most of his men with helmets of well-polished iron, that the swords might either break or glance aside; and round the borders of their shields he drew a plate of brass, because the wood of itself could not resist the strokes. Besides this, he taught them to avail themselves of long pikes,

* He pretended to find something amiss in the auspices which were taken when he was appointed.

† It was eleven years after. Popilius Lænas fined him ten thousand sesterces for being possessed of a thousand acres of land, in conjunction with his son, whom he had emancipated for that purpose, Liv. lib. vii. c. 16.

by pushing with which they might prevent the effect of the enemy's swords.

When the Gauls were arrived at the river Anio with their army, encumbered with the vast booty they had made, Camillus drew out his forces, and posted them upon a hill of easy ascent, in which were many hollows, sufficient to conceal the greatest part of his men, while those that were in sight should seem through fear to have taken advantage of the higher grounds. And the more to fix this opinion in the Gauls, he opposed not the depredations committed in his sight, but remained quietly in the camp he had fortified, while he had beheld part of them dispersed in order to plunder, and part indulging themselves day and night, in drinking and revelling. At last, he sent out the light-armed infantry before day, to prevent the enemy's drawing up in a regular manner, and to harrass them by sudden skirmishing as they issued out of their trenches; and as soon as it was light he led down the heavy-armed, and put them in battle array upon the plain, neither few in number nor disheartened, as the Gauls expected, but numerous and full of spirits.

This was the first thing that shook their resolution, for they considered it as a disgrace to have the Romans the aggressors. Then the light-armed falling upon them before they could get into order and rank themselves by companies, pressed them so warmly, that they were obliged to come in great confusion to the engagement. Last of all, Camillus leading on the heavy-armed, the Gauls with brandished swords hastened to fight hand to hand; but the Romans meeting the strokes with their pikes, and receiving them on that part that was guarded with iron, so turned their swords, which were thin and soft tempered, that they were soon bent almost double; and their shields were pierced and weighed down with the pikes that stuck in them. They, therefore, quitted their own arms, and endeavoured to seize those of the enemy, and to wrest their pikes from them. The Romans seeing them naked, now began to make use of their swords, and made great carnage among the foremost ranks. Mean time the rest took to flight, and were scattered along the plain; for Camillus had before-hand secured the heights; and, as in confidence of victory they had left their camp unfortified, they knew it would be taken with ease.

This battle is said to have been fought thirteen years after the taking of Rome;* and in consequence of this success, the Romans laid aside, for the future, the dismal apprehensions they had entertained of the barbarians. They had imagined, it seems, that the former victory they had gained over the Gauls, was owing to the sickness that prevailed in their army, and to other unforeseen accidents, rather than to their own valour: and so great had their terror been formerly that they had made a law, *that the priests should be exempted from military service, except in case of an invasion from the Gauls.*

This was the last of Camillus's martial exploits. For the taking of Velitræ was a direct consequence of this victory, and it surrendered without the least resistance. But the greatest conflict he ever experienced in the state, still remained: For the people were harder to deal with since they returned victorious, and they insisted that one of the consuls should be chosen out of their body, contrary to the present constitution. The senate opposed them, and would not suffer Camillus to resign the dictatorship, thinking they could better defend the rights of the nobility under the sanction of his supreme authority, But one day, as Camillus was sitting in the *forum*, and employed in the distribution of justice, an officer, sent by the tribunes of the people, ordered him to follow him, and laid his hand upon him, as if he would seize and carry him away. Upon this such a noise and tumult was raised in the assembly, as never had been known; those that were about Camillus thrusting the plebeian officer down from the tribunal, and the populace calling out to drag the dictator from his seat. In this case Camillus was much embarrassed; he did not, however, resign the dictatorhip, but led off the patricians to the senate-house. Before he entered it, he turned towards the capitol, and prayed to the gods to put a happy end to the present disturbances, solemnly vowing to build a temple to *Concord*, when the tumult should be over.

In the senate there was a diversity of opinions and great debates. Mild and popular counsels, however,

* This battle was fought, not thirteen, but twenty-three years after the taking of Rome.

prevailed, which allowed one of the consuls to be a plebeian.* When the dictator announced this decree to the people, they received it with great satisfaction, as it was natural they should; they were immediately reconciled to the senate, and conducted Camillus home with great applause. Next day the people assembled, and voted that the temple which Camillus had vowed to *Concord*, should, on account of this great event, be built on a spot that fronted the *forum* and place of assembly. To those feasts which are called *latin* they added one day more, so that the whole was to consist of four days; and for the present they ordained that the whole people of Rome should sacrifice with garlands on their heads. Camillus then held an assembly for the election of consuls, when Marcus Æmilius was chosen out of the nobility, and Lucius Sextius from the commonalty, the first plebeian that ever attained that honour.

This was the last of Camillus's transactions. The year following a pestilence visited Rome, which carried off a prodigious number of the people, most of the magistrates, and Camillus himself. His death could not be deemed premature, on account of his great age and the offices he had borne, yet was he more lamented than all the rest of the citizens who died of that distemper.

* The people having gained this point, the consulate was revived, and the military tribuneship laid aside for ever. But at the same time the patricians procured the great privilege that a new officer, called *prætor*, should be appointed, who was to be always one of their body. The consuls had been generals of the Roman armies, and at the same time judges of civil affairs, but as they were often in the field, it was thought proper to separate the latter branch from their office, and appropriate it to a judge with the title of *prætor*, who was to be next in dignity to the consuls. About the year of Rome 501, another *prætor* was appointed, to decide the differences among foreigners. Upon the taking of Sicily and Sardinia two more *prætors* were created, and as many more upon the conquest of Spain.

PERICLES.

WHEN Cæsar happened to see some strangers at Rome carrying young dogs and monkeys in their arms, and fondly caressing them, he asked, "Whether the women in their country never bore any children;" thus reproving with a proper severity those who lavish upon brutes that natural tenderness which is due only to mankind. In the same manner we must condemn those who employ that curiosity and love of knowledge which nature has implanted in the human soul, upon low and worthless objects, while they neglect such as are excellent and useful. Our senses, indeed, by an effect almost mechanical, are passive to the impression of outward objects, whether agreeable or offensive: but the mind, possessed of a self-directing power, may turn its attention to whatever it thinks proper. It should, therefore, be employed in the most useful pursuits, not barely in contemplation, but in such contemplation as may nourish its faculties. For as that colour is best suited to the eye, which by its beauty and agreeableness, at the same time both refreshes and strengthens the sight, so the application of the mind should be directed to those subjects, which through the channel of pleasure may lead us to our proper happiness. Such are the works of virtue. The very description of these, inspires us with emulation, and a strong desire to imitate them; whereas in other things, admiration does not always lead us to imitate what we admire; but on the contrary, while we are charmed with the work, we often despise the workman. Thus we are pleased with perfumes and purple, while dyers and perfumers appear to us in the light of mean mechanics.

Antisthenes,* therefore, when he was told that Ismenias played excellently upon the flute, answered properly enough, "Then he is good for nothing else; otherwise he would not have played so well." Such also was Philip's saying to his son, when at a certain entertainment he sang

* Antisthenes was a disciple of Socrates, and founder of the sect of the Cynics.

in a very agreeable and skilful manner, "Are not you ashamed to sing so well?" It is enough for a prince to bestow a vacant hour upon hearing others sing, and he does the muses sufficient honour, if he attends the performances of those who excel in their arts.

If a man applies himself to servile or mechanic employments, his industry in those things is a proof of his inattention to nobler studies. No young man of noble birth or liberal sentiments, from seeing the Jupiter at Pisa, would desire to be Phidias, or from the sight of the Juno at Argos, to be Polycletus; or Anacreon, or Philemon, or Archilochus, though delighted with their poems.* For though a work may be agreeable, yet esteem of the author is not the necessary consequence. We may therefore conclude, that things of this kind which excite not a spirit of emulation, nor produce any strong impulse or desire to imitate them, are of little use to the beholders. But virtue has this peculiar property, that at the same time that we admire her conduct, we long to copy the example. The goods of fortune we wish to enjoy, virtue we desire to practise; the former we are glad to receive from others, the latter we are ambitious that others should receive from us. The beauty of goodness has an attractive power; it kindles in us at once an active principle; it forms our manners, and influences our desires, not only when represented in a living example, but even in an historical description.

For this reason we chose to proceed in writing the lives of great men, and have composed this tenth book, which contains the life of Pericles, and that of Fabius Maximus who carried on the war against Hannibal; men who resembled each other in many virtues, particularly in justice and moderation, and who effectually served their respective commonwealths, by patiently enduring the injurious and capricious treatment they received from their col-

* This seems to be somewhat inconsistent with that respect and esteem, in which the noble arts of poetry and sculpture were held in ancient Greece and Rome, and with that admiration which the proficients in those arts always obtain among the people. But there was still a kind of jealousy between the poets and philosophers, and our philosophical biographer shows pretty clearly by the Platonic parade of this introduction, that he would magnify the latter at the expence of the former.

leagues and their countrymen. Whether we are right in our judgment or not, will be easy to see in the work itself.

Pericles was of the tribe of Acamantis, and of the ward of Cholargia. His family was one of the most considerable in Athens both by the father and mother's side. His father Xanthippus, who defeated the king of Persia's generals at Mycale, married Agariste, the niece of Clisthenes, who expelled the family of Pisistratus, abolished the tyranny, enacted laws, and established a form of government tempered in such a manner as tended to unanimity among the people, and the safety of the state. She dreamed that she was delivered of a lion, and a few days after brought forth Pericles. His person in other respects was well turned, but his head was disproportionably long. For this reason almost all his statues have the head covered with a helmet, the statuaries choosing, I suppose, to hide that defect. But the Athenian poets called him Schinocephalus or *onion-head*, for the word *schinos* is sometimes used instead of *scilla* a *sea-onion*. Cratinus, the comic writer, in his play called *Chirones*, has this passage:

> FACTION receiv'd old TIME to her embraces;
> Hence came a tyrant-spawn, on earth called Pericles,
> In heaven the *head-compeller*.

And again in his *Nemesis*, he thus addresses him:

> Come, blessed Jove,* the high and mighty HEAD,
> The friend of hospitality!

And Teleclides says,

> Now, in a maze of thought, he ruminates
> On strange expedients, while his HEAD, depress'd
> With its own weight, sinks on his knees; and now
> From the vast caverns of his brain burst forth
> Storms and fierce thunders.

* Pericles (as Plutarch afterwards observes) was called *Olympius* or Jupiter. The poet here addresses him under that character with the epithet of μακαρις, which signifies *blessed*, but may also signify *great-headed*. In our language we have no word with such a double meaning. Just above, he is called *Cephalegeretes*, *head-compeller*, (as if his head was an assemblage of many heads) instead of *Nephelegeretes*, *cloud-compeller*, a common epithet of Jupiter.

And Eupolis, in his *Demi*, asking news of all the great orators, whom he represented as ascending from the shades below, when Pericles comes up last, cries out,

> HEAD of the tribes that haunt those spacious realms,
> Does he ascend?

Most writers agree, that the master who taught him music was called Damon, the first syllable of whose name they tell us, is to be pronounced short: but Aristotle informs us, that he learned that art of Pythoclides. As for Damon, he seems to have been a politician, who under the pretence of teaching music, concealed his great abilities from the vulgar: and he attended Pericles as his tutor and assistant in politics, in the same manner as a master of the gymnastic art attends a young man to fit him for the ring. However, Damon's giving lessons upon the harp was discovered to be a mere pretext, and, as a busy politician and friend to tyranny, he was banished by the ostracism. Nor was he spared by the comic poets. One of them, named Plato, introduces a person addressing him thus:

> Inform me Damon, first, does fame say true?
> And wast thou really *Pericles's Chiron*?*

Pericles also attended the lectures of Zeno of Elea,† who in natural philosophy, was a follower of Parmenides, and, who, by much practice in the art of disputing, had learned to confound and silence all his opponents; as Timon the Phlasian declares in these verses:

* The word *Chiron* again is ambiguous, and may either signify, *wast thou preceptor to* Pericles? or, *wast thou more wicked than* Pericles?

† This Zeno was of Elea, a town of Italy, and a Phocian colony: and must be carefully distinguished from Zeno the founder of the sect of the Stoics. The Zeno here spoken of was respectable for attempting to rid his country of a tyrant. The tyrant took him, and caused him to be pounded to death in a mortar. But his death accomplished what he could not effect in his life-time: for his fellow citizens were so much incensed at the dreadful manner of it, that they fell upon the tyrant and stoned him. As to his arguments, and those of his master Parmenides, pretended to be so invincible, one of them was to prove there can be no such thing as motion, since a thing can neither move in the place where it is, nor in the place where it is not. But this sophism is easily refuted; for motion is the passing of a thing or person INTO a new part of space.

> Have not you heard of Zeno's mighty powers,
> Who could change sides, yet changing triumph'd still
> In the tongue's wars.

But the philosopher with whom he was most intimately acquainted, who gave him that force and sublimity of sentiment superior to all the demagogues, who, in short formed him to that admirable dignity of manners, was Anaxagoras the Clazomenian. This was he whom the people of those times called *nous* or *intelligence*, either in admiration of his great understanding and knowledge of the works of nature, or because he was the first who clearly proved, that the universe owed its formation, neither to chance nor necessity, but to a pure and umixed MIND, who separated the homogeneous parts from the other with which they were confounded.

Charmed with the company of this philosopher, and instructed by him in the sublimest sciences, Pericles acquired not only an elevation of sentiment, and a loftiness and purity of style, far removed from the low expression of the vulgar, but likewise a gravity of countenance which relaxed not into laughter, a firm and even tone of voice, an easy deportment, and a decency of dress, which no vehemence of speaking ever put into disorder. These things, and others of the like nature, excited admiration in all that saw him.

Such was his conduct, when a vile and abandoned fellow loaded him a whole day with reproaches and abuse; he bore it with patience and silence, and continued in public for the dispatch of some urgent affairs. In the evening he walked softly home, this impudent wretch following, and insulting him all the way with the most scurrilous language. And as it was dark when he came to his own door, he ordered one of his servants to take a torch and light the man home. The poet Ion, however, says he was proud and supercilious in conversation, and that there was a great deal of vanity and contempt of others mixed with his dignity of manners: on the other hand he highly extols the civility, complaisance, and politeness of Cimon. But to take no further notice of Ion, who perhaps would not have any great excellence appear, without a mixture of something satirical, as it was in the

ancient tragedy ;* Zeno desired those that called the gravity of Pericles pride and arrogance, to be proud the same way; telling them, the very acting of an excellent part might insensibly produce a love and real imitation of it.

These were not the only advantages which Pericles gained by conversing with Anaxagoras. From him he learned to overcome those terrors which the various phænomena of the heavens raise in those who know not their causes, and who entertain a tormenting fear of the gods by reason of that ignorance. Nor is there any cure for it but the study of nature, which instead of the frightful extravagancies of superstition, implants in us a sober piety supported by a rational hope.

We are told, there was brought to Pericles, from one of his farms, a ram's head with only one horn; and Lampo the soothsayer observing that the horn grew strong and firm out of the middle of the forehead, declared, that the two parties in the state, namely those of Thucydides and Pericles, would unite, and invest the whole power in him with whom the prodigy was found; but Anaxagoras having dissected the head, shewed that the brain did not fill the whole cavity, but had contracted itself into an oval form, and, pointed directly to that part of the skull whence the horn took its rise. This procured Anaxagoras great honour with the spectators; and Lampo was no less honoured for his prediction, when, soon after, upon the fall of Thucydides, the administration was put entirely into the hands of Pericles.

But, in my opinion, the philosopher and the diviner may well enough be reconciled, and both be right; the one discovering the cause and the other the end. It was the business of the former to account for the appearance, and to consider how it came about; and of the latter to

* Tragedy at first was only a chorus in honour of Bacchus. Persons dressed like satyrs were the performers, and they often broke out into the most licentious raillery. Afterwards, when tragedy took a graver turn, something of the former drollery was still retained, as in that which we call tragi-comedy. In time, serious characters and events became the subject of tragedy, without that mixture; but even then, after exhibiting three or four serious tragedies the poets used to conclude their contention for the prize, with a satirical one: Of this sort is the Cyclops of Euripides, and the only one remaining.

show why it was so formed, and what it portended..... Those who say, that when the cause is found out the prodigy ceases, do not consider, that if they reject such signs as are preternatural, they must also deny that artificial signs are of any use: the clattering of brass quoits,* the light of beacons, and the shadow of a sun-dial, have all of them their proper natural causes, and yet each has another signification. But perhaps this question might be more properly discussed in another place.

Pericles in his youth stood in great fear of the people. For in his countenance he was like Pisistratus the tyrant; and he perceived the old men were much struck with a farther resemblance in the sweetness of his voice, the volubility of his tongue, and the roundness of his periods. As, he was moreover of a noble family and opulent fortune, and his friends were the most considerable men in the state, he dreaded the ban of ostracism, and therefore intermeddled not with state-affairs, but behaved with great courage and intrepidity in the field. However, when Aristides was dead, Themistocles banished, and Cimon much employed in expeditions at a distance from Greece, Pericles engaged in the administration. He chose rather to solicit the favour of the multitude and the poor,† than of the rich and the few, contrary to his natural disposition, which was far from inclining him to court popularity.

It seems he was apprehensive of falling under the suspicion of aiming at the supreme power, and was sensible,

* The clattering of brass quoits or plates was sometimes a military signal among the Grecians. Among the Romans it was a signal to call the wrestlers to the ring.

† The popular party in Athens were continually making efforts against those small remains of power which were yet in the hands of the nobility. As Pericles could not lead the party of the nobles, because Cimon, by the dignity of his birth, the lustre of his actions, and the largeness of his estate, had placed himself at their head; he had no other resource than to court the populace. And he flattered their favourite passion in the most agreeable manner, by lessening the power and privileges of the court of Areopagus, which was the chief support of the nobility, and indeed of the whole state. Thus the bringing of almost all causes before the tribunal of the people, the multiplying of gratuities, which were only another word for bribes, and the giving the people a taste for expensive pleasures, caused the downfall of the Athenian commonwealth; though the personal abilities of Pericles supported it during his time.

besides that Cimon was attached to the nobility, and extremely beloved by persons of the highest eminence; and therefore, in order to secure himself, and to find resources against the power of Cimon, he studied to ingratiate himself with the common people. At the same time he entirely changed his manner of living. He appeared not in the streets, except when he went to the forum or the senate-house. He declined the invitations of his friends, and all social entertainments and recreations; insomuch that in the whole time of his administration, which was a considerable length, he never went to sup with any of his friends, but once, which was at the marriage of his nephew Euryptolemus, and he staid there only until the ceremony of libation was ended. He considered that the freedom of entertainments takes away all distinction of office, and that dignity is but little consistent with familiarity. Real and solid virtue, indeed, the more it is seen, the more glorious it appears; and there is nothing in a good man's conduct, as a magistrate, so great in the eye of the public, as is the general course of his behaviour in private to his most intimate friends. Pericles, however, took care not to make his person cheap among the people, and appeared among them only at proper intervals: Nor did he speak to all points that were debated before them, but reserved himself, like the Salaminian galley,* (as Critolaus says) for greater occasions; dispatching business of less consequence by other orators with whom he had an intimacy. One of these, we are told, was Ephialtes, who, according to Plato, overthrew the power of the council of Areopagus, by giving the citizens a large and intemperate draught of liberty. On which account the comic writers speak of the people of Athens, as of a horse wild and unmanaged,

> ———which listens to the reins no more,
> But in his madd'ning course bears headlong down
> The very friends that feed him.†

* The Salaminian galley was a consecrated vessel which the Athenians never made use of but on extraordinary occasions. They sent it, for instance, for a general whom they wanted to call to account, or with sacrifices to Apollo, or some other deity.

† The former English translator takes no manner of notice of δακνειν την Ευβοιαν και ταις νησοις επιπηδαν, *bites* Eubœa *and in-*

Pericles, desirous to make his language a proper vehicle for his sublime sentiments, and to speak in a manner that became the dignity of his life, availed himself greatly of what he had learned of Anaxagoras; adorning his eloquence with the rich colours of philosophy. For, adding (as the divine Plato expresses it) the loftiness of imagination, and all commanding energy, with which philosophy supplied him, to his native powers of genius, and making use of whatever he found to his purpose, in the study of nature, to dignify the art of speaking, he far excelled all other orators.* Hence he is said to have gained the surname of *Olympius*; though some will have it to have been from the edifices with which he adorned the city; and others, from his high authority both in peace and war. There appears, indeed, no absurdity in supposing that all these things might contribute to that glorious distinction. Yet the strokes of satire, both serious and ludicrous, in the comedies of those times, indicate that this title was given him chiefly on account of his eloquence. For they tell us that in his harangues he thundered and lightened, and that his tongue was armed with thunder. Thucydides, the son of Milesius, is said to have given a pleasant account of the force of his eloquence. Thuycidides was a great and respectable man, who for a long time opposed the measures of Pericles: And when Archidamus, one of the kings of Lacedæmon, asked him, "Which was the best wrestler, Pericles, or he?" he answered, "When I throw him, he says he was never down, and he persuades the very spectators to believe so."

Yet such was the solicitude of Pericles when he had to speak in public, that he always first addressed a prayer to the gods, † "That not a word might unawares escape him unsuitable to the occasion." He left nothing in

sults the islands; though the passage is pregnant with sense.... Athens, in the wantonness of power, insulted Eubœa, which was her granary, and the Ægean islands, which contributed greatly to her commerce and her wealth.

* Plato observes, on the same occasion, that an orator as well as a physician ought to have a general knowledge of nature.

† Quintilian says, he prayed, that not a word might escape him disagreeable to the people. And this is the more probable account of the matter, because (according to Suidas) Pericles wrote down his orations before he pronounced them in public; and, indeed was the first who did so.

writing, but some public decrees; and only a few of his sayings are recorded. He used to say (for instance) that "The isle of Ægina should not be suffered to remain an eye-sore to the Piræus:" and that "He saw a war approaching from Peloponnesus." And when Sophocles, who went in joint command with him upon an expedition at sea, happened to praise the beauty of a certain boy, he said, "A general, my friend, should not only have pure hands, but pure eyes." Stesimbrotus produces this passage from the oration which Pericles pronounced in memory of those Athenians who fell in the Samian war, "They are become immortal like the gods: For the gods themselves are not visible to us; but from the honours they receive, and the happiness they enjoy, we conclude they are immortal; and such should those brave men be who die for their country."

Thucydides represents the administration of Pericles as favouring aristocracy, and tells us that, though the government was called democratical, it was really in the hands of one who had engrossed the whole authority.... Many other writers likewise inform us, that by him the people were first indulged with a division of lands, were treated at the public expence with theatrical diversions, and were paid for the most common services to the state. As this new indulgence from the goverment was an impolitic custom, which rendered the people expensive and luxurious, and destroyed that frugality and love of labour which supported them before, it is proper that we should trace the effect to its cause, by a retrospect into the circumstances of the republic.

At first, as we have observed, to raise himself to some sort of equality with Cimon, who was then at the height of glory, Pericles made his court to the people. And as Cimon was his superior in point of fortune, which he employed in relieving the poor Athenians, in providing victuals every day for the necessitous, and clothed the aged; and, besides this, levelled his fences with the ground, that all might be at liberty to gather his fruit; Pericles had recourse to the expedient of dividing the public treasure; which scheme, as Aristotle informs us, was proposed to him by Demonides of Jos.* Accordingly,

* Jos was one of the isles called Sporades, in the Ægean sea, and celebrated for the tomb of Homer. But some learned men are of

by supplying the people with money for the public diversions, and for their attendance in courts of judicature,* and by other pensions and gratuities, he so inveigled them as to avail himself of their interest against the council of the Areopagus, of which he had no right to be a member, having never had the fortune to be chosen *archon*, *Thesmothetes*, *King of the sacred rites*, or *Polemarch*. For persons were of old appointed to these offices by lot; and such as had discharged them well, and such only, were admitted as judges in the Areopagus. Pericles, therefore, by his popularity raised a party against that council, and, by means of Ephialtes, took from them the cognizance of many causes that had been under their jurisdiction. He likewise caused Cimon to be banished by the *Ostracism*, as an enemy to the people,† and a friend to the Lacedæmonians: a man who in birth and fortune had no superior, who had gained very glorious victories over the barbarians, and filled the city with money and other spoils, as we have related in his life. Such was the authority of Pericles with the common people.

The term of Cimon's banishment, as it was by *Ostracism*, was limited by law to ten years. Mean time, the Lacedæmonians with a great army entered the territory of Tanagra, and the Athenians immediately marching out against them, Cimon returned, and placed himself in the ranks with those of his tribe, intending by his deeds to wipe off the aspersion of favouring the Lacedæmonians, and to venture his life with his countrymen; but by a combination of the friends of Pericles he was repulsed

opinion that instead of Ιηθεν, we should read Οιηθεν, and that Demonides was not of the island of Jos, but of Oia, which was a borough in Attica.

* There were several courts of judicature in Athens, composed of a certain number of the citizens; who sometimes received one *obolus*, each for every cause they tried; and sometimes men who aimed at popularity procured this fee to be increased.

† His treason against the state was pretended to consist in receiving presents or other gratifications from the Macedonians, whereby he was prevailed on to let slip the opportunity he had to enlarge the Athenian conquests, after he had taken the gold mines of Thrace.....Cimon answered, that he had prosecuted the war to the utmost of his power against the Thracians and their other enemies; but that he had made no inroads into Macedonia, because he did not conceive that he was to act as a public enemy to mankind.

as an exile. This seems to have been the cause that Pericles exerted himself in a particular manner in that battle, and exposed his person to the greatest dangers. All Cimon's friends, whom Pericles had accused as accomplices in his pretended crime, fell honourably that day together: And the Athenians, who were defeated upon their own borders, and expected a still sharper conflict in the summer, grievously repented of their treatment of Cimon, and longed for his return. Pericles, sensible of the people's inclinations, did not hesitate to gratify them, but proposed a decree for recalling Cimon; and, at his return, a peace was agreed upon through his mediation. For the Lacedæmonians had a particular regard for him, as well as aversion for Pericles and the other demagogues. But some authors write, that Pericles did not procure an order for Cimon's return, till they had entered into a private compact, by means of Cimon's sister Elpinice, that Cimon should have the command abroad, and with two hundred galleys lay waste the king of Persia's dominions, and Pericles have the direction of affairs at home. A story goes, that Elpinice before this, had softened the resentment of Pericles against Cimon, and procured her brother a milder sentence than that of death. Pericles was one of those appointed by the people to manage the impeachment; and when Elpinice addressed him as a suppliant, he smiled and said, "You are old, Elpinice: much too old to solicit in so weighty an affair." However, he rose up but once to speak, barely to acquit himself of his trust, and did not bear so hard upon Cimon as the rest of his accusers.* Who then can give credit to Idomeneus, when he says, that Pericles caused the orator Ephialtes, his friend and assistant in the administration, to be assassinated, through jealousy and envy of his great character? I know not where he met with this calumny, which he vents with great bitterness against a man, not indeed, in all respects irreproachable, but who certainly had such a greatness of mind, and high sense of honour, as was incompatible with an action so savage and inhuman. The truth of the matter, according to Aristotle, is, that Ephi-

* Yet Cimon was fined fifty talents, or 9687*l.* 10*s.* sterling, and narrowly escaped a capital sentence, having only a majority of three votes to prevent it.

altes being grown formidable to the nobles, on account of his inflexible severity in prosecuting all that invaded the rights of the people, his enemies caused him to be taken off in a private and treacherous manner, by Aristodicus of Tanagra.

About the same time died Cimon, in the expedition to Cyprus. And the nobility perceiving that Pericles was now arrived at a height of authority which set him far above the other citizens, were desirous of having some person to oppose him, who might be capable of giving a check to his power, and of preventing his making himself absolute. For this purpose they set up Thucydides, of the ward of Alopece, a man of great prudence, and brother-in-law to Cimon. He had not, indeed, Cimon's talents for war, but was superior to him in forensic and political abilities ; and, by residing constantly in Athens, and opposing Pericles in the general assembly, he soon brought the government to an *equilibrium*. For he did not suffer persons of superior rank to be dispersed and confounded with the rest of the people, because in that case their dignity was obscured and lost ; but collected them into a separate body, by which means their authority was enhanced, and sufficient weight thrown into their scale. There was, indeed, from the beginning, a kind of doubtful separation, which, like the flaws in a piece of iron, indicated that the aristocratical party and that of the commonalty were not perfectly one, though they were not actually divided : but the ambition of Pericles and Thucydides, and the contest between them, had so extraordinary an effect upon the city, that it was quite broken in two, and one of the parts was called the *people*, and the other the *nobility*. For this reason, Pericles, more than ever gave the people the reins, and endeavoured to ingratiate himself with them, contriving to have always some show, or play, or feast, or procession in the city, and to amuse it with the politest pleasures.

As another means of employing their attention, he sent out sixty galleys every year, manned for eight months,* with a considerable number of the citizens, who were both

* Some instead of μηνας, read μνας ; and, according to this reading, the passage must be translated, *manned with ..... the citizens, whose pay was eight minæ, and who at the same time improved*, &c.

paid for their service, and improved themselves as mariners. He likewise sent a colony of a thousand men to the Chersonesus, five hundred to Naxos, two hundred and fifty to Andros, a thousand into the country of the Bisaltæ in Thrace, and others into Italy, who settled in Sybaris, and changed its name to Thurii. These things he did, to clear the city of an useless multitude, who were very troublesome when they had nothing to do; to make provision for the most necessitous: and to keep the allies of Athens in awe, by placing colonies like so many garrisons in their neighbourhood.

That which was the chief delight of the Athenians and the wonder of strangers, and which alone serves for a proof that the boasted power and opulence of ancient Greece is not an idle tale, was the magnificence of the temples and public edifices. Yet no part of the conduct of Pericles moved the spleen of his enemies more than this. In their accusations of him to the people, they insisted, "That he had brought the greatest disgrace upon the Athenians by removing the public treasures of Greece from Delos, and taking them into his own custody: That he had not left himself even the specious apology, of having caused the money to be brought to Athens for its greater security, and to keep it from being seized by the barbarians: That Greece must needs consider it as the highest insult, and an act of open tyranny, when she saw the money she had been obliged to contribute towards the war, lavished by the Athenians in gilding their city, and ornamenting it with statues, and temples that cost a thousand talents,* as a proud and vain woman decks herself out with jewels." Pericles answered this charge by observing, "That they were not obliged to give the allies any account of the sums they had received, since they had kept the barbarians at a distance, and effectually defended the allies, who had not furnished either horses, ships, or men, but only contributed money, which is no longer the property of the giver, but of the receiver, if he performs the conditions on which it is received. That as the state was provided with all the necessaries of war, its superfluous wealth should be laid out on such works as,

* The Parthenon, or temple of Minerva, is said to have cost a thousand talents.

when executed, would be eternal monuments of its glory, and which, during their execution, would diffuse an universal plenty; for as so many kinds of labour, and such a variety of instruments and materials were requisite to these undertakings, every art would be exerted, every hand employed, almost the whole city would be in pay, and be at the same time both adorned and supported by itself." Indeed, such as were of a proper age and strength, were wanted for the wars, and well rewarded for their services; and as for the mechanics and meaner sort of people, they went not without their share of the public money, nor yet had they it to support them in idleness. By the constructing of great edifices, which required many arts and a long time to finish them, they had equal pretensions to be considered out of the treasury (though they stirred not out of the city) with the mariners and soldiers, guards and garrisons. For the different materials, such as stone, brass, ivory, gold, ebony, and cypress, furnished employment to carpenters, masons, brasiers, goldsmiths, painters, turners, and other artificers; the conveyance of them by sea employed merchants and sailors, and by land wheel-wrights, waggoners, carriers, rope-makers, leather-cutters, paviors, and iron-founders: and every art had a number of the lower people ranged in proper subordination to execute it like soldiers under the command of a general. Thus by the exercise of these different trades, plenty was diffused among persons of every rank and condition. Thus works were raised of an astonishing magnitude, and inimitable beauty and perfection, every architect striving to surpass the magnificence of the design with the elegance of the execution: yet still the most wonderful circumstance was the expedition with which they were completed. Many edifices, each of which seems to have required the labour of several successive ages, were finished during the administration of one prosperous man.

It is said, that when Agatharcus the painter valued himself upon the celerity and ease with which he dispatched his pieces; Zeuxis replied, "If I boast, it shall be of the slowness with which I finish mine." For ease and speed in the execution seldom give a work any lasting importance, or exquisite beauty; while, on the other hand the time which is expended in labour, is recovered and repaid in the duration of the performance. Hence

we have the more reason to wonder, that the structures raised by Pericles should be built in so short a time, and yet built for ages: for as each of them, as soon as finished, had the venerable air of antiquity; so, now they are old, they have the freshness of a modern building. A bloom is diffused over them, which preserves their aspect untarnished by time, as if they were animated with a spirit of perpetual youth and unfading elegance.

Phidias was appointed by Pericles superintendant of all the public edifices, though the Athenians had then other eminent architects and excellent workmen. The *Parthenon*, or temple of *Pallas*, whose dimensions had been a hundred feet square,* was re-built by Callicrates and Ictinus. Corœbus began the temple of Initiation at Eleusis, but only lived to finish the lower rank of columns with their architraves. Metagenes, of the ward of Xypete, added the rest of the entablature, and the upper row of columns; and Xenocles of Cholargus built the dome on the top. The long wall, the building of which Socrates says he heard Pericles propose to the people, was undertaken by Callicrates. Cratinus ridicules this work as proceeding very slowly:

> Stones upon stones the orator has pil'd,
> With swelling words, but words will build no walls.

The *Odeum*, or music-theatre, which was likewise built by the direction of Pericles, had within it many rows of seats and of pillars; the roof was of a conic figure, after the model (we are told) of the king of Persia's pavilion.... Cratinus, therefore, rallies him again in his play called *Thrattæ*:

> As Jove, an onion on his head he wears;
> As Pericles, a whole orchestre bears;
> Afraid of broils and banishment no more,
> He tunes the shell he trembled at before!

Pericles at this time exerted all his interest to have a decree made, appointing a prize for the best performer in music during the *Panathenæa*; and, he was himself

* It was called *Hecatompedon*, because it had been originally a hundred feet square. And having been burnt by the Persians, it was rebuilt by Pericles, and retained that name after it was greatly enlarged.

appointed judge and distributer of the prizes; he gave the contending artists directions in what manner to proceed, whether their performance was vocal, or on the flute or lyre. From that time the prizes in music were always contended for in the *odeum*.

The vestibule of the citadel was finished in five years by Mnesicles the architect. A wonderful event that happened while the work was in hand, showed that the goddess was not averse to the work, but rather took it into her protection, and encouraged them to complete it. One of the best and most active of the workmen, missing his step fell from the top to the bottom, and was bruised in such a manner that his life was despaired of by the physicians. Pericles was greatly concerned at this accident; but, in the midst of his affliction, the goddess appeared to him in a dream, and informed him of a remedy, which he applied, and thereby soon recovered the patient. In memory of this cure, he placed in the citadel, near the altar, (which is said to have been there before) a brazen statue of the *Minerva of health*. The golden statue of the same goddess,* was the workmanship of Phidias, and his name is inscribed upon the pedestal, (as we have already observed) through the friendship of Pericles he had the direction of every thing, and all the artists received his orders. For this the one was envied, and the other slandered; and it was intimated that Phidias received into his house ladies for Pericles, who came thither under pretence of seeing his works. The comic poets, getting hold of this story, represented him as a perfect libertine. They accused him of an intrigue with the wife of Menippus, his friend and lieutenant in the army: and because Pyrilampes, another intimate acquaintance of his, had a collection of curious birds, and particularly of peacocks, it was supposed that he kept them only for pre-

* This statue was of gold and ivory. Pausanias has given us a description of it. The goddess was represented standing, cloathed in a tunic that reached down to the foot. On her *Aegis*, or breast-plate, was Medusa's head in ivory, and *victory*. She held a spear in her hand; and at her feet lay a buckler, and a dragon, supposed to be Erichthonius. The sphynx was represented on the middle of her helmet, with a griffin on each side. This statue was thirty-nine feet high; the *victory* on the breast-plate was about four cubits; and forty talents of gold were employed upon it.

sents for those women who granted favours to Pericles. But what wonder is it, if men of a satyrical turn, daily sacrifice the characters of the great to that malevolent Dæmon, the envy of the multitude; when Stesimbrotus of Thasos had dared to lodge against Pericles that horrid and groundless accusation of corrupting his son's wife? so difficult is it to come at truth in the walk of history; since, if the writers live after the events they relate, they can be but imperfectly informed of facts, and if they describe the persons and transactions of their own times, they are tempted by envy and hatred, or by interest and friendship to vitiate and pervert the truth.

The orators of Thucydides's party raised a clamour against Pericles, asserting, that he wasted the public treasure and brought the revenue to nothing. Pericles in his defence asked the people in full assembly, "Whether they thought he had expended too much?" upon their answering in the affirmative, "Then be it," said he, "charged to my account,* not yours: only let the new edifices be inscribed with my name, not that of the people of Athens." Whether it was that they admired the greatness of his spirit, or were ambitious to share the glory of such magnificent works, they cried out, "That he might spend as much as he pleased of the public treasure, without sparing it in the least."

At last the contest came on between him and Thucydides, which of them should be banished by the *ostracism*: Pericles gained the victory, banished his adversary, and entirely defeated his party. The opposition now being at an end, and unanimity taking place amongst all ranks

* It appears from a passage in Thucydides, that the public stock of the Athenians, amounted to nine thousand seven hundred talents, (or one million eight hundred and seventy-five thousand nine hundred and fifty pounds sterling) of which, Pericles had laid out in those public buildings, three thousand seven hundred talents.... It is natural, therefore, to ask, how he could tell the people that it should be at his own expence, especially since Plutarch tells us in the sequel, that he had not in the least improved the estate left him by his father? To which the true answer probably is, that Pericles was politician enough to know that the vanity of the Athenians would never let them agree that he should inscribe the new magnificent buildings with his name, in exclusion of theirs; or he might venture to say any thing, being secure of a majority of votes to be given as he pleased.

of people, Pericles became sole master of Athens, and its dependencies. The revenues, the army and navy; the islands and the sea; a most extensive territory, peopled by barbarians as well as Greeks, fortified with the obedience of subject nations, the friendship of kings and alliance of princes, were all at his command.

From this time he became a different man; he was no longer so obsequious to the humour of the populace, which is as wild and as changeable as the winds. The multitude were not indulged or courted; the government in fact was not popular; its loose and luxuriant harmony was confined to stricter measures, and it assumed an aristocratical or rather monarchical form. He kept the public good in his eye, and pursued the straight path of honour. For the most part gently leading them by argument to a sense of what was right, and sometimes forcing them to comply with what was for their own advantage; in this respect imitating a good physician, who in the various symptoms of a long disease, sometimes administers medicines tolerably agreeable, and, at other times, sharp and strong ones, when such alone are capable of restoring the patient. He was the man that had the art of controuling those many disorderly passions which necessarily spring up amongst a people possessed of so extensive a dominion. The two engines he worked with were hope and fear; with these, repressing their violence when they were too impetuous, and supporting their spirits when inclined to languor, he made it appear that *rhetoric is* (as Plato defined it) *the art of ruling the minds of men*, and that its principal province consists in moving the passions and affections of the soul, which, like so many strings in a musical instrument, require the touch of a masterly and delicate hand. Nor were the powers of eloquence alone sufficient, but (as Thucydides observes) the orator was a man of probity and unblemished reputation. Money could not bribe him; he was so much above the desire of it, that though he added greatly to the opulence of the state, which he found not inconsiderable, and though his power exceeded that of many kings and tyrants, some of whom have bequeathed to their posterity, the sovereignty they had obtained, yet he added not one *drachma* to his paternal estate.

Thucydides, indeed, gives this candid account of the power and authority of Pericles, but the comic writers abuse him in a most malignant manner, giving his friends the name of the *new pisistratidæ*, and calling upon him to swear that he would never attempt to make himself absolute, since his authority was already much too great and overbearing in a free state. Teleclides says, the Athenians had given up to him

> The tribute of the states, the states themselves,
> To bind, to loose; to build and to destroy;
> In peace, in war to govern; nay, to rule
> Their very fate, like some superior being.

And this not only for a time, or during the prime and flower of a short administration; but for forty years together he held the pre-eminence, amidst such men as Ephialtes, Leocrates, Myronides, Cimon, Tolmides, and Thucydides, and continued it no less than fifteen years after the fall and banishment of the latter. The power of the magistrates, which to them was but annual, all centered in him, yet still he kept himself untainted by avarice. Not that he was inattentive to his finances; but, on the contrary, neither negligent of his paternal estate, nor yet willing to have much trouble with it, as he had not much time to spare, he brought the management of it into such a method as was very easy, at the same time that it was exact. For he used to turn a whole year's produce into money altogether, and with this he bought from day to day all manner of necessaries at the market. This way of living was not agreeable to his sons when grown up, and the allowance he made the women did not appear to them a generous one; they complained of a pittance daily measured out with scrupulous œconomy, which admitted of none of those superfluities so common in great houses, and wealthy families, and could not bear to think of the expences being so nicely adjusted to the income.

The person who managed these concerns with so much exactness, was a servant of his named Evangelus, either remarkably fitted for the purpose by nature, or formed to it by Pericles. Anaxagoras, indeed, considered these lower attentions as inconsistent with his wisdom. Following the dictates of enthusiam, and wrapt up in sublime

inquiries, he quitted his house, and left his lands untilled and desolate. But, in my opinion, there is an essential difference between a speculative and a practical philosopher. The former advances his ideas into the regions of science without the assistance of any thing corporeal or external; the latter endeavours to apply his great qualities to the use of mankind, and riches afford him not only necessary but excellent assistance. Thus it was with Pericles, who by his wealth was enabled to relieve numbers of the poor citizens. Nay, for want of such prudential regards, this very Anaxagoras, we are told, lay neglected and unprovided for, insomuch that the poor old man had covered up his head and was going to starve himself.* But an account of it being brought to Pericles, he was extremely moved at it, ran immediately to him, expostulated, intreated; bewailing not so much the fate of his friend as his own, if his administration should lose so valuable a counsellor. Anaxagoras, uncovering his face, replied, "Ah Pericles! those that have need of a lamp, take care to supply it with oil."

By this time, the Lacedæmonians began to express some jealousy of the Athenian greatness, and Pericles willing to advance it still higher, and to make the people more sensible of their importance and more inclinable to great attempts, procured an order, that all the Greeks, wheresoever they resided, whether in Europe or in Asia, whether their cities were small or great, should send deputies to Athens to consult about rebuilding the Grecian temples which the barbarians had burnt, and about providing those sacrifices which had been vowed during the Persian war, for the preservation of Greece; and likewise to enter into such measures as might secure navigation and maintain the peace.

Accordingly twenty persons, each upwards of fifty years of age, were sent with this proposal to the different states of Greece. Five went to the Ionians and Dorians in Asia, and the islanders as far as Lesbos, and Rhodes; five to the cities about the Hellespont and in Thrace, as far as Byzantium; five to the inhabitants of Bœotia, Pho-

* It was customary among the ancients for a person who was determined to put an end to his life to cover up his head; whether he devoted himself to death for the service of his country, or being weary of his being, bade the world adieu.

cis and Peloponnesus, and from thence, by Locri along the adjoining continent, to Acarnania and Ambracia. The rest were dispatched through Eubœa to the Greeks that dwelt upon Mount Oetra and near the Maliac Bay, to the Phithiotæ, the Achæans * and Thessalians, inviting them to join in the council and new confederacy for the preservation of the peace of Greece.† It took not effect, however, nor did the cities send their deputies; the reason of which is said to be the opposition of the Lacedæmonians,‡ for the proposal was first rejected in Peloponnesus. But I was willing to give account of it as a specimen of the greatness of the orator's spirit, and of his disposition to form magnificent designs.

His chief merit in war was the safety of his measures. He never willingly engaged in any uncertain or very dangerous expedition, nor had any ambition to imitate those generals who are admired as great men, because their rash enterprizes have been attended with success; he always told the Athenians, "That as far as their fate depended upon him, they should be immortal." Perceiving that Tolmides, the son of Tolmæus, in confidence of his former success and military reputation, was preparing to invade Bœotia at an unseasonable time, and that, over and above the regular troops, he had persuaded the bravest and most spirited of the Athenian youth, to the number of a thousand, to go volunteers in that expedition, he addressed him in public and tried to divert him from it, making use, among the rest, of those well-known words, "If you regard not the opinion of Pericles, yet wait at least for the advice of time who is the best of all counsellors." This saying, for the present, gained no great applause: but when, a few days after, news was

* By *Achæans* we are sometimes to understand the Greeks in general, especially in the writings of the poets; and sometimes the inhabitants of a particular district in Peloponnesus: but neither of these can be the meaning in this place. We must here understand a people of Thessaly, called *Achæans*. Vide *Steph. Byz. in voce* Φθιῶται.

† Καινοπραγία.

‡ It is no wonder that the Lacedæmonians opposed this undertaking, since the giving way to it would have been acknowledging the Athenians as masters of all Greece. Indeed, the Athenians should not have attempted it, without an order or decree of the Amphictyons.

brought, that Tolmides was defeated and killed at Coronea,* together with many of the bravest citizens, it procured Pericles great respect and love from the people, who considered it as a proof, not only of his sagacity, but of his affection for his countrymen.

Of his military expeditions, that to the Chersonesus procured him most honour, because it proved very salutary to the Greeks who dwelt there. For he not only strengthened their cities with the addition of a thousand able-bodied Athenians, but raised fortifications across the Isthmus from sea to sea; thus guarding against the incursions of the Thracians who were spread about the Chersonesus, and putting an end to those long and grievous wars under which that district had smarted by reason of the neighbourhood of the barbarians, as well as to the robberies with which it had been infested by persons who lived upon the borders, or were inhabitants of the country. But the expedition most celebrated among strangers, was that by sea around Peloponnesus. He set sail from Pegæ in the territories of Megara with an hundred ships of war, and not only ravaged the maritime cities, as Tolmides had done before him, but landed his forces, and penetrated a good way up the country. The terror of his arms drove the inhabitants into their walled towns, all but the Sicyonians who made head against him at Nemea, and were defeated in a pitched battle; in memory of which victory he erected a trophy. From Achaia, a confederate state, he took a number of men into his gallies, and sailed to the opposite side of the continent; then passing by the mouth of the Achelous, he made a descent in Acarnania, shut up the Oeneadæ within their walls, and having laid waste the country, returned home. In the whole course of this affair, he appeared terrible to his enemies, and to his countrymen an active and prudent commander; for no miscarriage was committed, nor did even any unfortunate accident happen during the whole time.

Having sailed to Pontus with a large and well equipped fleet, he procured the Grecian cities there all the advantages they desired, and treated them with great re-

* This defeat happened in the second year of the eighty-third Olympiad, four hundred and forty-five years before the Christian æra, and more than twenty years before the death of Pericles.

gard. To the barbarous nations that surrounded them, and to their kings and princes, he made the power of Athens very respectable, by shewing with what security her fleets could sail, and that she was in effect mistress of the seas. He left the people of Sinope thirteen ships under the command of Lamachus, and a body of men to act against Timesileos their tyrant. And when the tyrant and his party were driven out, he caused a decree to be made, that a colony of six hundred Athenian volunteers should be placed in Sinope, and put in possession of those houses and lands which had belonged to the tyrants.

He did not, however, give way to the wild desires of the citizens, nor would he indulge them, when elated with their strength and good fortune, they talked of recovering Egypt,* and of attempting the coast of Persia. Many were likewise at this time possessed with the unfortunate passion for Sicily, which the orators of Alcibiades's party afterwards inflamed still more. Nay, some even dreamt of Hetruria † and Carthage, and not without some ground of hope, as they imagined, because of the great extent of their dominions and the successful course of their affairs.

But Pericles restrained this impetuosity of the citizens, and curbed their extravagant desire of conquest; employing the greatest part of their forces in strengthening and securing their present acquisitions, and considering it as a matter of consequence to keep the Lacedæmonians within bounds; whom he therefore opposed, as on other occasions, so particularly in the sacred war. For when the Lacedæmonians, by dint of arms, had restored the temple to the citizens of Delphi, which had been seized

* For the Athenians had been masters of Egypt, as we find in the second book of Thucydides. They were driven out of it by Megabyzus, Artaxerxes's lieutenant, in the first year of the eightieth Olympiad, and it was only in the last year of the eighty-first Olympiad that Pericles made that successful expedition about Peleponnesus; therefore it is not strange that the Athenians, now in the height of prosperity, talked of recovering their footing in a country which they had so lately lost.

† Hetruria seems oddly joined with Carthage; but we may consider that Hetruria was on one side of Sicily, and Carthage on the other. The Athenians, therefore, after they had devoured Sicily in their thoughts, might think of extending their conquests to the countries on the right and left; in the same manner as king Pyrrhus indulged his wild ambition to subdue Sicily, Italy, and Africa.

by the Phocians, Pericles, immediately after the departure of the Lacedæmonians, marched thither and put it into the hands of the Phocians again. And as the Lacedæmonians had engraved on the forehead of the brazen wolf the privilege which the people of Delphi had granted them of consulting the oracle first,* Pericles caused the same privilege for the Athenians, to be inscribed on the wolf's right side.

The event shewed, that he was right in confining the Athenian forces to act within the bounds of Greece. For, in the first place the Eubœans revolted, and he led an army against them. Soon after news was brought that Megara had commenced hostilities, and that the Lacedæmonian forces, under the command of king Plistonax, were upon the borders of Attica. The enemy offered him battle; he did not choose, however, to risk an engagement with so numerous and resolute an army. But as Plistonax was very young, and chiefly directed by Cleandrides, a counsellor whom the *Ephori* had appointed him on account of his tender age, he attempted to bribe that counsellor, and succeeding in it to his wish, persuaded him to draw off the Peloponnesians from Attica. The soldiers dispersing and retiring to their respective homes, the Lacedæmonians were so highly incensed, that they laid a heavy fine upon the king, and as he was not able to pay it, he withdrew from Lacedæmon. As for Cleandrides, who fled from justice, they condemned him to death. He was the father of Gylippus who defeated the Athenians in Sicily, and who seemed to have derived the vice of avarice from him as an hereditary distemper. He was led by it into bad practices, for which he was banished with ignominy from Sparta, as we have related in the life of Lysander.

In the accounts for this campaign, Pericles put down ten talents laid out *for a necessary use*, and the people allowed it, without examining the matter closely or prying into the secret. According to some writers, and among the rest Theoprastus the philosopher, Pericles sent ten talents every year to Sparta, with which he gained all the magistracy, and kept them from acts of hostility;

* This wolf is said to have been consecrated and placed by the side of the great altar, on occasion of a wolf's killing a thief who had robbed the temple, and leading the Delphians to the place where the treasure lay.

not that he purchased peace with the money, but only gained time, that he might have leisure to make preparations to carry on the war afterwards with advantage.

Immediately, after the retreat of the Lacedæmonians, he turned his arms against the revolters, and passing over into Eubœa with fifty ships and five thousand men, he reduced the cities. He expelled the *Hippobotæ*, persons distinguished by their opulence and authority among the Chalcidians; and having exterminated all the Hestiæans, he gave their city to a colony of Athenians. The cause of this severity was their having taken an Athenian ship, and murdered the whole crew.

Soon after this, the Athenians and Lacedæmonians having agreed upon a truce for thirty years, Pericles caused a decree to be made for an expedition against Samos. The pretence he made use of was, that the Samians, when commanded to put an end to the war with the Milesians, had refused it. But as he seems to have entered upon this war merely to gratify Aspasia, it may not be amiss to enquire by what art or power she captivated the greatest statesmen, and brought even philosophers to speak of her so much to her advantage.

It is agreed, that she was by birth a Milesian,* and the daughter of Axiochus. She is reported to have trod in the steps of Thargelia † who was descended from the ancient Ionians, and to have reserved her intimacies for the great. This Thargelia, who to the charms of her person added a peculiar politeness and poignant wit, had many lovers among the Greeks, and drew over to the king of Persia's interest all that had approached her; by whose means, as they were persons of eminence and authority, she sowed the seeds of the Median faction among the Grecian states.

Some indeed, say, that Pericles made his court to Aspasia only on account of her wisdom and political abilities. Nay, even Socrates himself sometimes visited her along with his friends; and her acquaintance took their wives with them to hear her discourse, though the business that supported her was neither honourable nor de-

* Miletum, a city in Ionia, was famous for producing persons of extraordinary abilities.

† This Thargelia, by her beauty, obtained the sovereignty of Thessaly. However, she came to an untimely end; for she was murdered by one of her lovers.

cent, for she kept a number of courtezans in her house. Æschines informs us, that Lysicles, who was a grazier,* and of a mean ungenerous disposition, by his intercourse with Aspasia after the death of Pericles, became the most considerable man in Athens. And though Plato's Menexenus in the beginning, is rather humerous than serious, yet thus much of history we may gather from it, that many Athenians resorted to her on account of her skill in the art of speaking.†

I should not however, think that the attachment of Pericles was of so very delicate a kind. For, though his wife, (who was his relation, and had been first married to Hipponicus, by whom she had Callius the rich,) brought him two sons, Xanthippus and Paralus, yet they lived so ill together, that they parted by consent. She was married to another, and he took Aspasia, for whom he had the tenderest regard. Insomuch, that he never went out upon business, or returned without saluting her. In the comedies she is called the *New Omphale*, *Deianira*, and *Juno*. Cratinus plainly calls her a prostitute:

> ———She bore this *Juno*, this *Aspasia*,
> Skill'd in the shameless trade and every art
> Of wantonness.

He seems also to have had a natural son by her; for he is introduced by Eupolis inquiring after him thus:

> ———Still lives the offspring of my dalliance?

Pyronides answers:

> He lives, and might have borne the name of husband,
> Did he not dream that every bosom fair,
> Is not a chaste one.

* What the employments were to which this Lysicles was advanced, is no where recorded.

† It is not to be imagined, that Aspasia excelled in light and amorous discourses. Her discourses, on the contrary, were not more brilliant than solid. It was even believed by the most intelligent Athenians, amongst them by Socrates himself, that she composed the celebrated funeral oration pronounced by Pericles, in honour of those that were slain in the Samian war. It is probable enough, that Pericles undertook that war to avenge the quarrel of the Milesians, at the suggestion of Aspasia, who was of Miletum; who is said to have accompanied him in that expedition, and to have built a temple to perpetuate the memory of his victory.

Such was the fame of Aspasia, that Cyrus who contended with Artaxerxes for the Persian crown, gave the name of Aspasia to his favourite concubine, who before was called *Milto*. This woman was born in *Phocis*, and was the daughter of Hermotimus. When Cyrus was slain in the battle, she was carried to the king, and had afterwards great influence over him. These particulars occurring to my memory as I wrote this life, I thought it would be a needless affectation of gravity, if not an offence against politeness, to pass them over in silence.

I now return to the Samian war, which Pericles is much blamed for having promoted, in favour of the Milesians, at the instigation of Aspasia. The Milesians and Samians had been at war for the city of Priene, and the Samians had the advantage, when the Athenians interposed, and ordered them to lay down their arms, and refer the decision of the dispute to them; but the Samians refused to comply with this demand. Pericles, therefore, sailed with a fleet to Samos, and abolished the oligarchical form of government. He then took fifty of the principal men, and the same number of children, as hostages, and sent them to Lemnos. Each of these hostages, we are told, offered him a talent for his ransom; and those that were desirous to prevent the settling of a democracy among them, would have given him much more.* Pissuthnes the Persian, who had the interest of the Samians at heart, likewise sent him ten thousand pieces of gold, to prevail upon him to grant them more favourable terms. Pericles, however, would receive none of their presents, but treated the Samians in the manner he had resolved on; and having established a popular government in the island, he returned to Athens.

But they soon revolted again, having recovered their hostages by private measure of Pissuthnes, and made new preparations for war. Pericles coming with a fleet to reduce them once more, found them not in a posture of negligence or despair, but determined to contend with him for the dominion of the sea. A sharp engagement ensued near the isle of Tragia, and Pericles gained a glo-

* Pissuthnes, the son of Hystaspes, was governor of Sardis, and espoused the cause of the Samians of course, because the principal persons among them were in the Persian interest.

rious victory, having with forty-four ships defeated seventy, twenty of which had soldiers on board.

Pursuing his victory, he possessed himself of the harbour of Samos, and laid siege to the city. They still retained courage enough to sally out and give him battle before the walls. Soon after a greater fleet came from Athens, and the Samians were entirely shut up; whereupon, Pericles took sixty galleys, and steered for the Mediterranean, with a design, as is generally supposed, to meet the Phœnician fleet that was coming to the relief of Samos, and to engage with it at a great distance from the island.

Stesimbrotus, indeed, says, he intended to sail for Cyprus, which is very improbable. But whatever his design was, he seems to have committed an error. For as soon as he was gone, Melissus, the son of Ithagenes, a man distinguished as a philosopher, and at that time commander of the Samians, despising either the small number of ships that was left, or else the inexperience of their officers, persuaded his countrymen to attack the Athenians. Accordingly a battle was fought, and the Samians obtained the victory; for they made many prisoners, destroyed the greatest part of the enemy's fleet, cleared the seas, and imported whatever warlike stores and provisions they wanted. Aristotle writes, that Pericles himself had been beaten by the same Melissus in a former sea-fight.

The Samians returned upon the Athenian prisoners the insult they had received,* marked their foreheads with the figure of an owl, as the Athenians had branded them with a *Samæna*, which is a kind of ship built low in the fore-part, and wide and hollow in the sides. This form makes it light and expeditious in sailing; and it was called *Samæna* from its being invented in Samas by Polycrates the tyrant. Aristophanes is supposed to have hinted at these marks, when he says,

> The Samians are a letter'd race.

As soon as Pericles was informed of the misfortune that had befallen his army, he immediately returned with suc-

* We have no account of these reciprocal barbarities in Thucydides.

cours,* gave Melissus battle, routed the enemy, and blocked up the town by building a wall about it ; choosing to owe the conquest of it rather to time and expence, than to purchase it with the blood of his fellow-citizens. But when he found the Athenians murmured at the time spent in the blockade, and that it was difficult to restrain them from the assault, he divided the army into eight parts and ordered them to draw lots. That division which drew a white bean, were to enjoy themselves in ease and pleasure while the others fought. Hence it is said, that those who spend the day in feasting and merriment, call that a *white day* from the *white bean*.

Ephorus adds, that Pericles in this siege made use of battering engines, the invention of which he much admired, it being then a new one ; and that he had *Artemon* the engineer along with him, who, on account of his lameness, was carried about in a litter, when his presence was required to direct the machines, and thence had the surname of *Periphoretus*. But Heraclides of Pontus confutes this assertion by some verses of Anacreon, in which mention is made of Artemon Periphoretus, several ages before the Samian war, and these transactions of Pericles. And he tells us this Artemon was a person who gave himself up to luxury, and was withal of a timid and effeminate spirit; that he spent most of his time within doors, and had a shield of brass held over his head by a couple of slaves, lest something should fall upon him. Moreover, that if he happened to be necessarily obliged to go abroad, he was carried in a litter, which hung so low as almost to touch the ground, and therefore was called *Periphoretus*.

After nine months the Samians surrendered. Pericles razed their walls, seized their ships, and laid a heavy fine upon them ; part of which they paid down directly, the rest they promised at a set time, and gave hostages for the payment. Duris the Samian makes a melancholy tale of it, accusing Pericles and the Athenians of great cruelty, of which no mention is made by Thucydides, Ephorus, or Aristotle. What he relates concerning the Samian officers and seamen seems quite fictitious ; he tells us, that Pericles caused them to be brought into the market-

* On his return, he received a reinforcement of four score ships, as Thucydides tells us ; or ninety, according to Diodorus. Vid. *Thucyd.* lib. i. de Bell. Peloponn. & *Diodor. Sicul.* lib. xii.

place at Miletus, and to be bound to posts there for ten days together, at the end of which he ordered them, by that time in the most wretched condition, to be dispatched with clubs, and refused their bodies the honour of burial. Duris, indeed, in his histories, often goes beyond the limits of truth, even when not misled by any interest or passion, and therefore is more likely to have exaggerated the sufferings of his country, to make the Athenians appear in an odious light.*

Pericles at his return to Athens, after the reduction of Samos, celebrated in a splendid manner the obsequies of his countrymen who fell in that war, and pronounced himself the funeral oration, usual on such occasions....This gained him great applause ; and when he came down from the rostrum, the women paid their respects to him, and presented him with crowns and chaplets, like a champion just returned victorious from the lists. Only Elpinice addressed him in terms quite different : " Are these actions, then, Pericles, worthy of crowns and garlands, which have deprived us of many brave citizens : not in a war with the Phœnicians and Medes, such as my brother Cimon waged, but in destroying a city united to us both in blood and friendship ?" Pericles only smiled, and answered softly with this line of Archilochus,

Why lavish ointments on a head that's grey ?

Ion informs us, that he was highly elated with this conquest, and scrupled not to say, " That Agamemnon spent ten years in reducing one of the cities of the barbarians, whereas he had taken the richest and most powerful city among the Ionians in nine months. And indeed he had reason to be proud of this atchievement ; for the war was really a dangerous one, and the event uncertain, since, according to Thucydides, such was the power of the Samians, that the Athenians were in imminent danger of losing the dominion of the sea.

Some time after this, when the Peloponnesian war was ready to break out, Pericles persuaded the people to send

* Yet Cicero tells us this Duris was a careful historian, *Homo in historia diligens.* This historian lived in the time of Ptolomy Philadelphus.

succours to the inhabitants of Corcyra, who were at war with the Corinthians;* which would be a means to fix in their interest an island whose naval forces were considerable, and might be of great service in case of a rupture with the Peloponnesians, which they had all the reason in the world to expect would be soon. The succours were decreed accordingly, and Pericles sent Lacedæmonius to the son of Cimon with ten ships only, as if he designed nothing more than to disgrace him.† A mutual regard and friendship subsisted between Cimon's family and the Spartans, and he now furnished his son with but a few ships, and gave him the charge of this affair against his inclination, in order that, if nothing great or striking were effected, Lacedæmonius might be still the more suspected of favouring the Spartans. Nay, by all imaginable methods he endeavoured to hinder the advancement of that family, representing the sons of Cimon, as by their very names not genuine Athenians, but strangers and aliens, one of them being called Lacedæmonius, another Thessalus, and a third Eleus. They seem to have been all the sons of an Arcadian woman. Pericles however, finding himself greatly blamed about these ten gallies, an aid by no means sufficient to answer the purpose of those that requested it, but likely enough to afford his enemies a pretence to accuse him, sent another squadron to Corcyra‡, which did not arrive till the action was over.

The Corinthians, offended at this treatment, complained of it at Lacedæmon, and the Megarensians at the same time alleged, that the Athenians would not suffer them to come to any mart or port of theirs, but drove them out, thereby infringing the common privileges, and breaking the oath they had taken before the general assembly of Greece. The people of Ægina, too, privately acquainted the Lacedæmonians with many encroachments and injuries done them by the Athenians, whom they

* This war was commenced about the little territory of Epidamnum, a city in Macedonia, founded by the Corcyrians.

† There seems to be very little colour for this hard assertion.... Thucydides says, that the Athenians did not intend the Corcyrians any real assistance, but sent this small squadron to look on while the Corinthians and Corcyrians weakened and wasted each other.

‡ But this fleet, which consisted of twenty ships, prevented a second engagement, for which they were preparing.

durst not accuse openly. And at this very juncture, Potidæa, a Corinthian colony, but subject to the Athenians, being besieged in consequence of its revolt, hastened on the war.

However, as ambassadors were sent to Athens, and as Archidamus, king of the Lacedæmonians endeavoured to give a healing turn to most of the articles in question, and to pacify the allies, probably no other point would have involved the Athenians in war, if they could have been persuaded to rescind the decree against the Megarensians, and to be reconciled to them. Pericles, therefore, in exerting all his interest to oppose this measure, in retaining his enmity to the Megarensians, and working up the people to the same rancour was the sole author of the war.

It is said, that when the ambassadors from Lacedæmon came upon this occasion to Athens,* Pericles pretended there was a law which forbade the taking down any tablet on which a decree of the people was written, "Then," said Polyarces, one of the ambassadors, "do not take it down, but turn the other side outward; there is no law against that." Notwithstanding the pleasantry of this answer, Pericles relented not in the least. He seems, indeed, to have had some private pique against the Megarensians, though the pretext he availed himself of in

* The Lacedæmonian ambassadors demanded in the first place, the expulsion of those Athenians who were styled execrable on account of the old business of Cylon and his associates, because by his mother's side Pericles was allied to the family of Megacles; they next insisted that the siege of Potidæa should be raised; thirdly, that the inhabitants of Ægina should be left free; and lastly, that the decree made against the Megarensians, whereby they were forbid the ports and markets of Athens on pain of death, should be revoked, and the Grecian states set at liberty, who were under the dominion of Athens.

Pericles represented to the Athenians, that, whatever the Lacedæmonians might pretend, the true ground of their resentment was the prosperity of the Athenian republic: that, nevertheless, it might be proposed, that the Athenians would reverse their decree against Megara, if the Lacedæmonians would allow free egress and regress in their city to the Athenians and their allies; that they would leave all those states free, who were free at the making of the last peace with Sparta, provided the Spartans would also leave all states free who were under their dominion; and that future disputes should be submitted to arbitration. In case these offers should not prevail, he advised them to hazard a war.

public was, that they had applied to profane uses certain parcels of sacred ground; and thereupon he procured a decree for an herald to be sent to Megara and Lacedæmon to lay this charge against the Megarensians. This decree was drawn up in a candid and conciliating manner. But Anthemocritus, the herald sent with that commission, losing his life by the way, through some treachery (as was supposed) of the Megarensians, Charinus procured a decree, that an implacable and eternal enmity should subsist between the Athenians and them; that if any Megarensian should set foot upon Attic ground, he should be put to death; that to the oath which their generals used to take, this particular should be added, that they would twice a year make an inroad into the territories of Megara; and that Anthemocritus should be buried at the Thriasian gate, now called *Dipylus*.

The Megarensians, however, deny their being concerned in the murder of Anthemocritus,* and lay the war entirely at the door of Aspasia and Pericles; alleging in proof those well-known verses from the *Acharnenses* of Aristophanes,

> The god of wine had with his *Thyrsus* smote
> Some youths, who in their madness stole from Megara
> The prostitute *Simætha:* in revenge,
> Two females, liberal of their smiles, were stolen
> From our *Aspasia's* train.

It is not, indeed, easy to discover what was the real origin of the war: but at the same time all agree, it was the fault of Pericles, that the decree against Megara was not annulled. Some say, his firmness in that case was the effect of his prudence and magnanimity, as he considered that demand only as a trial, and thought the least concession would be understood as an acknowledgment of weakness: but others will have it, that his treating the Lacedæmonians with so little ceremony, was owing to his obstinacy and an ambition to display his power.

* Thucydides takes no notice of this herald; and yet it is so certain that the Megarensians were looked upon as the authors of the murder, that they were punished for it many ages after: for on that account the Emperor Adrian denied them many favours and privileges which he granted to the other cities of Greece.

But the worst cause of all,* assigned for the war, and which, notwithstanding, is confirmed by most historians, is as follows: Phidias the statuary had undertaken (as we have said) the statue of Minerva. The friendship and influence he had with Pericles exposed him to envy, and procured him many enemies, who, willing to make an experiment upon him, what judgment the people might pass on Pericles himself, persuaded Menon, one of Phidias's workmen, to place himself as a suppliant in the *Forum*, and to intreat the protection of the republic while he lodged an information against Phidias.

The people granting his request, and the affair coming to a public trial, the allegation of theft, which Menon brought against him, was shown to be groundless. For Phidias, by the advice of Pericles, had managed the matter from the first with so much art, that the gold with which the statue was overlaid could easily be taken off and weighed: and Pericles ordered this to be done by the accusers. But the excellence of this work, and the envy arising thence, was the thing that ruined Phidias; and it was particularly insisted upon, that in his representation of the battle with the Amazons upon Minerva's shield, he had introduced his own effigies as a bald old man taking up a great stone with both hands,† and a high-finished picture of Pericles fighting with an Amazon..... The last was contrived with so much art, that the hand, which in lifting up the spear, partly covered the face, seemed to be intended to conceal the likeness, which yet was very striking on both sides. Phidias, therefore, was thrown into prison, where he died a natural death;‡ though some say, poison was given him by his enemies, who were desirous of causing Pericles to be suspected.... As for the accuser Menon, he had an immunity from taxes granted him, at the motion of Glycon, and the generals were ordered to provide for his security.

* Pericles, when he saw his friends prosecuted, was apprehensive of a prosecution himself, and therefore hastened on a rupture with the Peloponnesians, to turn the attention of the people to war.

† They insisted that those modern figures impeached the credit of the ancient history, which did so much honour to Athens, and their founder Theseus.

‡ Others say, that he was banished, and that in his exile he made the famous statue of Jupiter at Olympia.

About this time Aspasia was prosecuted for impiety by Hermippus a comic poet, who likewise accused her of receiving into her house women above the condition of slaves for the pleasure of Pericles. And Diopithes procured a decree, that those who disputed the existence of the gods, or introduced new opinions about celestial appearances, should be tried before an assembly of the people. This charge was levelled first at Anaxagoras, and through him at Pericles. And as the people admitted it, another decree was proposed by Dracontides, that Pericles should give an account of the public money before the *Prytanes*, and that the judges should take the ballots from the altar,* and try the cause in the city. But Agnon caused the last article to be dropt, and instead thereof, it was voted that the action should be laid before the fifteen hundred judges, either for *peculation*, and *taking of bribes*, or simply for *corrupt practices*.

Aspasia was acquitted,† though much against the tenor of the law, by means of Pericles, who (according to Æschines) shed many tears in his application for mercy for her. He did not expect the same indulgence for Anaxagoras,‡ and therefore caused him to quit the city, and conducted him part of the way. And as he himself was become obnoxious to the people upon Phidias's account, and was afraid of being called in question for it, he urged on the war which as yet was uncertain, and blew up the flame which till then was stifled and suppressed. By this means he hoped to obviate the accusations that threatened him, and to mitigate the rage of envy, because

* In some extraordinary cases where the judges were to proceed with the greatest exactness and solemnity, they were to take ballots or billets from the altar, and to inscribe their judgment upon them; or rather to take the black and the white bean, ψηφον. What Plutarch means by *trying the cause in the city*, is not easy to determine, unless by the *city* we are to understand *the full assembly of the people*. By the fifteen hundred judges mentioned in the next sentence, is probably meant the court of *Heliæa*, so called because the judges sat in the open air exposed to the sun; for this court on extraordinary occasions consisted of that number.

† Πολλα παυυ πωρα την δικην.....

‡ Anaxagoras held the unity of God; that it was one allwise Intelligence which raised the beautiful structure of the world out of the Chaos. And if such was the opinion of the master, it was natural for the people to conclude, that his scholar Pericles was against the Polytheism of the times.

such was his dignity and power, that in all important affairs, and in every great danger, the republic could place its confidence in him alone. These are said to be the reasons which induced him to persuade the people not to grant the demands of the Lacedæmonians: but what was the real cause is quite uncertain.

The Lacedæmonians, persuaded, that if they could remove Pericles out of the way, they should be better able to manage the Athenians, required them to banish all *execrable* persons from among them: and Pericles (as Thucydides informs us) was by his mother's side related to those that were pronounced *execrable*, in the affair of Cylon. The success, however, of this application proved the reverse of what was expected by those that ordered it. Instead of rendering Pericles suspected, or involving him in trouble, it procured him the more confidence and respect from the people, when they perceived that their enemies both hated and dreaded him above all others. For the same reason he forewarned the Athenians, that if Archidamus, when he entered Attica at the head of the Peloponnesians, and ravaged the rest of the country, should spare his estate, it must be owing either to the rights of hospitality that subsisted between them, or to a design to furnish his enemies with matter of slander, and therefore from that hour he gave his lands and houses to the city of Athens. The Lacedæmonians and confederates accordingly invaded Attica with a great army under the command of Archidamus; and laying waste all before them, proceeded as far as Acharnæ,* where they encamped, expected that the Athenians would not be able to endure them so near, but meet them in the field for the honour and safety of their country. But it appeared to Pericles too hazardous to give battle to an army of sixty thousand men, (for such was the number of the Peloponnesians and Bœotians employed in the first expedition) and by that step to risk no less than the preservation of the city itself. As to those that were eager for an engagement, and uneasy at his slow proceedings, he endeavoured to bring them to reason by observing, "That trees,

* The borough of Acharnæ was only fifteen hundred paces from the city.

when lopped, will soon grow again; but when men are cut off, the loss is not easily repaired."

In the mean time he took care to hold no assembly of the people, lest he should be forced to act against his own opinion. But as a good pilot, when a storm arises at sea, gives his directions, gets his tackle in order, and then uses his art, regardless of the tears and intreaties of the sick and fearful passengers; so Pericles, when he had secured the gates, and placed the guards in every quarter, to the best advantage, followed the dictates of his own understanding, unmoved by the clamours and complaints that resounded in his ears. Thus firm he remained, notwithstanding the importunity of his friends, and the threats and accusations of his enemies, notwithstanding the many scoffs and songs sung to vilify his character as a general, and to represent him as one who in the most dastardly manner, betrayed his country to the enemy. Cleon * too attacked him with great acrimony, making use of the general resentment against Pericles, as a means to increase his own popularity, as Hermippus testifies in these verses:

> Sleeps then, thou king of satyrs, sleeps the spear,
> While thund'ring words make war? why boasts thy prowess,
> Yet shudder at the sound of sharpen'd swords,
> Spite of the flaming Cleon?

Pericles, however, regarded nothing of this kind, but calmly and silently bore all this disgrace and virulence. And though he fitted out an hundred ships, and sent them against Peloponnesus, yet he did not sail with them, but chose to stay and watch over the city, and keep the reins of government in his own hands, until the Peloponnesians were gone. In order to satisfy the common people, who were very uneasy on account of the war, he made a distribution of money and lands: for having expelled the inhabitants of Ægina, he divided the island by lot among the Athenians. Besides, the sufferings of the enemy afforded them some consolation. The fleet sent against Peloponnesus, ravaged a large tract of country, and sacked

* The same Cleon that Aristophane satirised. By his harangues and political intrigues, he got himself appointed general. See a farther account of him in the life of Nicias.

the small towns and villages : and Pericles himself made a descent upon the territories of Megara,* which he laid waste, Whence it appears,† that though the Peloponnesians greatly distressed the Athenians by land, yet as they were equally distressed by sea, they could not have drawn out the war to so great a length, but must soon have given it up (as pericles foretold from the beginning) had not some divine power prevented the effect of human counsels. A pestilence at that time broke out,‡ which destroyed the flower of the youth and the strength of Athens. And not only their bodies, but their very minds were affected, for, as persons delirious with a fever, set themselves against a physician or a father, so they raved against Pericles, and attempted his ruin ; being persuaded by his enemies, that the sickness was occasioned by the multitude of out-dwellers flocking into the city, and a number of people stuffed together in the height of summer, in small huts and close cabins, where they were forced to live a lazy inactive life, instead of breathing the pure and open air to which they had been accustomed. They would needs have it, that he was the cause of all this, who, when the war began, admitted within the walls, such crowds of people from the country, and yet found no employment for them, but let them continue pent up like cattle, to infect and destroy each other, without affording them the least relief or refreshment.

Desirous to remedy this calamity, and withal in some degree to annoy the enemy, he manned an hundred and fifty ships, on which he embarked great numbers of select horse and foot, and was preparing to set sail. The Athenians conceived good hopes of success, and the enemy no less dreaded so great an armament. The whole fleet was in readiness, and Pericles on board his

* He did not undertake this expedition until autumn, when the Lacedæmonians were retired. In the winter of this year, the Athenians solemnized in an extraordinary manner the funerals of such as first died in the war. Pericles pronounced the oration on that occasion, which Thucydides has preserved.

† ἦ καὶ δῆλον.....

‡ See this plague excellently described by Thucydides, who had it himself. *Lib.* ii. *prop. init.*

own galley, when there happened an eclipse of the sun. This sudden darkness was looked upon as an unfavourable omen, and threw them into the greatest consternation. Pericles observing that the pilot was much astonished and perlexed, took his cloak, and having covered his eyes with it, asked him, "If he found any thing terrible in that, or considered it as a sad presage?" Upon his answering in the negative, he said, "Where is the difference, then between this and the other, except that something bigger than my cloak causes the eclipse?" But this is a question which is discussed in the schools of philosophy.

In this expedition Pericles performed nothing worthy of so great an equipment. He laid siege to the sacred city of Epidaurus,* and at first with some rational hopes of success;† but the distemper which prevailed in his army, broke all his measures. For it not only carried off his own men, but all that had intercourse with them. As this ill success set the Athenians against him, he endeavoured to console them under their losses, and to animate them to new attempts. But it was not in his power to mitigate their resentment, nor could they be satisfied, until they had shewed themselves masters by voting that he should be deprived of the command, and pay a fine, which, by the lowest account, was fifteen talents; some make it fifty. The person that carried on the prosecution against him, was Cleon, as Idomeneus tells us; or, according to Theophrastus, Simmias; or Lacratides, if we believe Heraclides of Pontus.

The public ferment, indeed, soon subsided, the people quitting their resentment with that blow, as a bee leaves its sting in the wound: but his private affairs were in a miserable condition, for he had lost a number of his relations in the plague, and a misunderstanding had prevailed for some time in his family. Xanthippus, the eldest of his legitimate sons, was naturally profuse, and besides had married a young and expensive wife, daughter to Isander, and grand-daughter to Epylicus. He knew not

* This Epidaurus was in Argeia. It was consecrated to Æsculapius: and Plutarch calls it *sacred*, to distinguish it from another town of the same name in Laconia.

† Ελπίδα παρασχασαν ως αλωσιμενην.....

how to brook his father's frugality, who supplied him but sparingly, and with a little at a time, and therefore sent to one of his friends and took up money in the name of Pericles. When the man came to demand his money, Pericles not only refused to pay him, but even prosecuted him for the demand. Xanthippus was so highly enraged at this, that he began openly to abuse his father. First he exposed and ridiculed the company he kept in his house, and the conversations he held with the philosophers. He said, that Epitimius the Pharsalian, having undesignedly killed a horse with a javelin which he threw at the public games, his father spent a whole day in disputing with Protogorus, which might be properly deemed the cause of his death, the javelin, or the man that threw it, or the presidents of the games. Stesimbrotus adds, that it was Xanthippus who spread the vile report concerning his own wife and Pericles, and that the young man retained this implacable hatred against his father to his latest breath. He was carried off by the plague. Pericles lost his sister too at that time, and the greatest part of his relations and friends, who were most capable of assisting him in the business of the state. Notwithstanding these misfortunes, he lost not his dignity of sentiment and greatness of soul. He neither wept, nor performed any funeral rites, nor was he seen at the grave of any of his nearest relations, until the death of Paralus, his last surving legitimate son. This at last subdued him. He attempted, indeed, then to keep up his usual calm behaviour and serenity of mind; but, in putting the garland upon the head of the deceased, his firmness forsook him; he could not bear the sad spectacle; he broke out into loud lamentation, and shed a torrent of tears: a passion which he had never before given way to.

Athens made a trial, in the course of a year of the rest of her generals and orators, and finding none of sufficient weight and authority for so important a charge, she once more turned her eyes on Pericles, and invited him to take upon him the direction of affairs both military and civil. He had for some time shut himself up at home to indulge his sorrow, when Alcibiades, and his other friends, persuaded him to make his appearance. The people making an apology for their ungenerous treatment of him, he

re-assumed the reins of government, and being appointed general, his first step was to procure the repeal of the law concerning bastards, of which he himself had been the author; for he was afraid that his name and family would be extinct for want of a successor. The history of that law is as follows: Many years before, Pericles in the height of his power, and having several legitimate sons, (as we have already related) caused a law to be made, that none should be accounted citizens of Athens, but those whose parents were both Athenians.* After this, the King of Egypt made the Athenians a present of forty thousand medimni of wheat, and as this was to be divided among the citizens, many persons were proceeded against as illegitimate upon that law, whose birth had never before been called in question, and many were disgraced upon false accusations. Near five thousand were cast, and sold for slaves;† and fourteen thousand and forty appeared to be entitled to the privilege of citizens.‡ Though it was inequitable and strange, that a law, which had been put in execution with so much severity, should be repealed by the man who first proposed it, yet the Athenians moved at the late misfortunes in his family, by which he seemed to have suffered the punishment of his arrogance and pride, and thinking he should be treated with humanity, after he had felt the wrath of Heaven, permitted him to enrol a natural son in his own tribe, and to give him his own name. This is he who afterwards defeated the Peloponnesians in a sea-fight at Arginusæ, and was put to death by the people, together with his colleagues.||

* According to Plutarch's account at the beginning of the life of Themistocles, this law was made before the time of Pericles. Pericles, however, might put it more strictly in execution than it had been before, from a spirit of opposition to Cimon, whose children were only of the half blood

† The illegitimacy did not reduce men to a state of servitude; it only placed them in the rank of strangers.

‡ A small number indeed, at a time when Athens had dared to think of sending out colonies, humbling her neighbours, subduing foreigners, and even of erecting an universal monarchy.

|| The Athenians had appointed ten commanders on that occasion. After they had obtained the victory they were tried, and eight of them were capitally condemned, of whom six that were on the

About this time Pericles was seized with the plague, but not with such acute and continued symptoms as it generally shews. It was rather a lingering distemper, which, with frequent intermissions, and by slow degrees, consumed his body, and impaired the vigour of his mind. Theophrastus has a disquisition in his Ethics, whether men's characters may be changed with their fortune, and the soul so affected with the disorders of the body as to lose her virtue ; and there he relates, that Pericles shewed to a friend who came to visit him in his sickness, an amulet which the women had hung about his neck, intimating that he must be sick indeed, since he submitted to so ridiculous a piece of superstition.*

When he was at the point of death, his surviving friends and the principal citizens sitting about his bed, discoursed together concerning his extraordinary virtue and the great authority he had enjoyed, and enumerated his various exploits and the number of his victories : for, while he was commander in chief, he had erected no less than nine trophies to the honour of Athens. These things they talked of, supposing that he attended not to what they said, but that his senses were gone. He took notice, however, of every word they had spoken, and thereupon delivered himself audibly as follows, " I am surprised, that while you dwell upon and extol these acts of mine, though fortune had her share in them, and many other generals have performed the like, you take no notice of the greatest and most honourable part of my character, *that no* Athenian, *through my means, ever put on mourning.*"

spot were executed, and this natural son of Pericles was one of them. The only crime laid to their charge, was, that they had not buried the dead. Xenophon, in his Grecian history, has given a large account of this affair. It happened under the archonship of Callias, the second year of the ninety-third Olympiad, twenty-four years after the death of Pericles. Socrates the philosopher was at that time one of the Prytanes, and resolutely refused to do his office. And a little while after the madness of the people turned the other way.

* It does not appear by this that his understanding was weakened, since he knew the *charm* to be a ridiculous piece of superstition, and showed it to his friend as such ; but only that in his extreme sickness he had not resolution enough to refuse what he was sensible would do him no good.

Pericles undoubtedly deserved admiration, not only for the candour and moderation which he ever retained, amidst the distractions of business and the rage of his enemies, but for that noble sentiment which led him to think it his most excellent attainment, never to have given way to envy or anger, notwithstanding the greatness of his power, nor to have nourished an implacable hatred against his greatest foe. In my opinion, this one thing, I mean his mild and dispassionate behaviour, his unblemished integrity and irreproachable conduct during his whole administration, makes his appellation of Olympius, which would be otherwise vain and absurd, no longer exceptionable, nay, gives it a propriety. Thus we think the divine powers, as the authors of all good, and naturally incapable of producing evil, worthy to rule and preside over the universe. Not in the manner which the poets relate, who, while they endeavoured to bewilder us by their irrational opinions, stand convicted of inconsistency, by their own writing. For they represent the place which the gods inhabit, as the region of security and the most perfect tranquillity, unapproached by storms and unsullied with clouds; where a sweet serenity for ever reigns, and a pure *æther* displays itself without interruption; and these they think mansions suitable to a blessed and immortal nature. Yet, at the same time, they represent the gods themselves as full of anger, malevolence, hatred, and other passions, unworthy even of a reasonable man. But this by the by.

The state of public affairs soon showed the want of Pericles,* and the Athenians openly expressed their regret for his loss. Even those, who, in his lifetime, could but ill brook his superior power, as thinking themselves eclipsed by it, yet upon a trial of other orators and demagogues, after he was gone, soon acknowledged that where severity was required, no man was ever more moderate or if mildness was necessary, no man better kept up his dignity, than Pericles. And his so much envied authority, to which they had given the name of monarchy and tyranny, then appeared to have been the bulwark of the

* Pericles died in the third year of the Peloponnesian war, that is, the last year of the eighty-seventh Olympiad, and 428 years before the Christian era.

state. So much corruption and such a rage of wickedness broke out upon the commonwealth after his death which he by proper restraints had palliated,* and kept from dangerous and destructive extremities!

* Pericles did indeed palliate the distempers of the commonwealth while he lived, but (as we have observed before) he sowed the seeds of them, by bribing the people with their own money; with which they were as much pleased as if it had been his.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.